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THE

FESTIVAL-HALL OF OSORKON II.

IN THE

GREAT TEMPLE OF BUBASTIS

(1887–1889).

BY

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

TENTH MEMOIR OF

THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.

WITH FORTY PLATES.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE.

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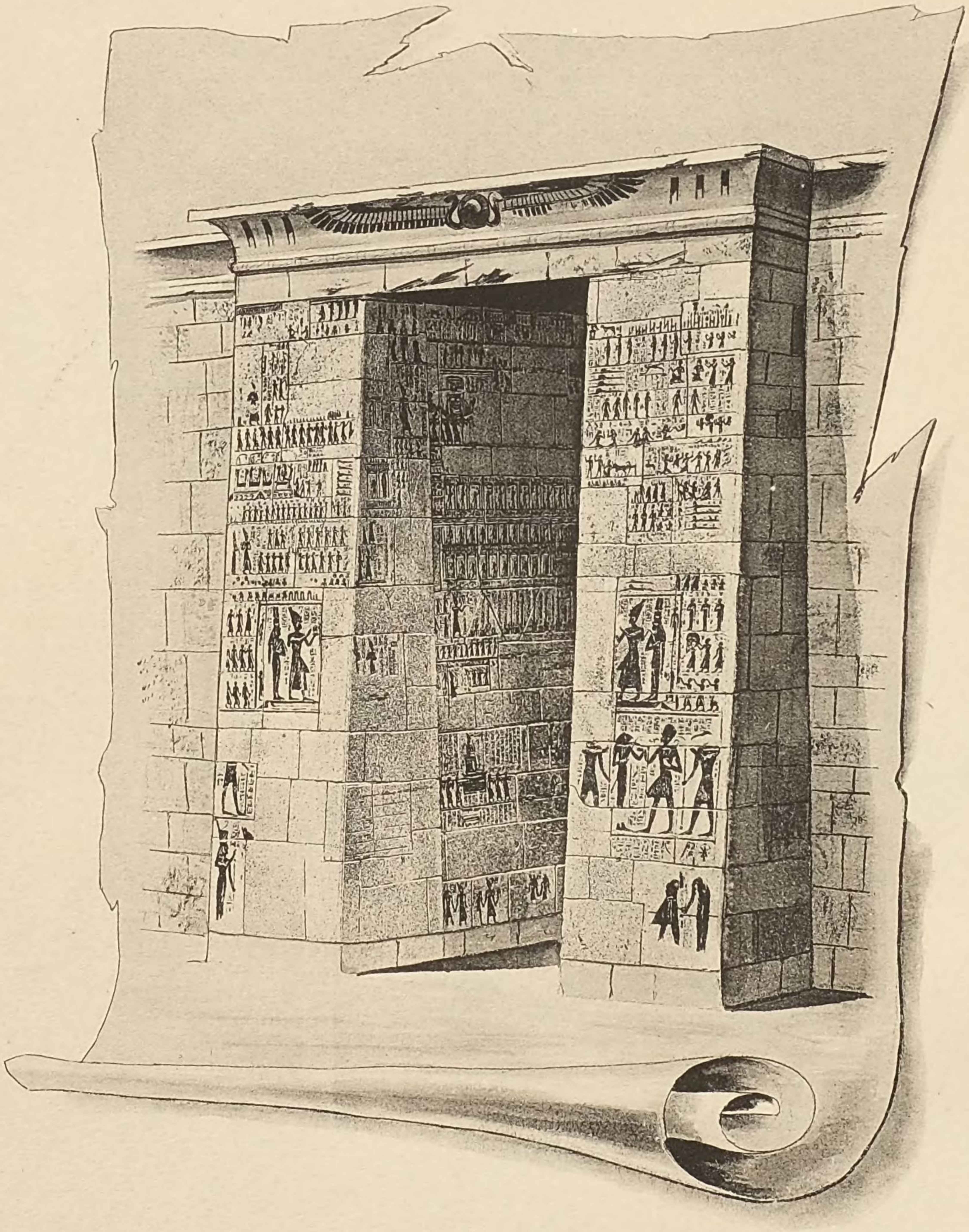

Restored entrance to the Festival-hall

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THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED

IN GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION

TO THE MEMORY OF

AMELIA BLANFORD EDWARDS

PREFACE.

When I published the monuments discovered in the great temple of Bubastis, I was obliged to leave aside a considerable number of inscriptions, all of which came from the same part of the temple, and are of a peculiar character. There could be no doubt about them, they all belonged to a great whole, describing a religious festival which took place under Osorkon II., the fourth king of the XXIInd Dynasty. (Bubastis, p. 50.) This was therefore a distinct subject, which had to be mentioned, as a historical event, but the development of which was out of place in the account of the edifice, and of the city.

It is the description of this festival which is contained in the plates of this memoir. However numerous they may be, they are far from exhibiting a complete picture of the texts which originally stood on the walls of the building, raised and adorned specially for the festival. It is easy to judge from the general plates how numerous and large are the gaps, caused either by time or by the action of water, or, worst of all, by the destructive hands of the inhabitants. The form of the building could not be discovered at first sight. When its remains were unearthed, the hall of Osorkon II. was a mere heap of huge granite blocks (pl. xxxvi.); each stone had to be rolled and turned, and paper casts were made of the inscriptions engraved on its sides. When the inscriptions had been copied, order could be brought into this confused mass of writing and figures; the contiguous parts could be put together; the angles, where they had been preserved, served as clues for the measures, and by degrees the form of the edifice could be recognized. It is evident that the inscriptions were not engraved all round the hall; they only covered the walls of a large gateway which led from the first hall into the second, and which perhaps was the only part of the second hall built of granite. The plates xxxii.-xxxv. give an idea of the disposition of the walls; they form an entrance, which must have had an appearance similar to that represented in the frontispiece.

The discovery of the form and of the nature of the building on which the inscriptions were engraved, enables us to estimate the amount of these valuable texts which have been lost. In fact, not much more than one-third has been preserved, and certain parts, like the northern side-wall, have almost disappeared.

In a restoration of this kind, much is left to conjecture in regard to the position of the blocks, particularly when all the neighbouring ones are wanting; however, I believe that there cannot be much doubt as to the general form of the edifice. It is quite similar to the gateway at Soleb, where inscriptions referring to the same festival were engraved.

All the linear plates of this volume have been drawn by Madame Naville, and printed by the firm of Thévoz and Co., in Geneva, who also executed the phototypes from negatives taken by Count d'Hulst and the Rev. W. MacGregor. I have to thank my friend, the Rev. W. MacGregor, for revising the text for the press.

This memoir exhausts all the objects discovered in the great temple of Bubastis, from which I part with regret, remembering the rich reward which it has given to the labours of its explorers.

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

MALAGNY, *April*, 1892.

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THE FESTIVAL-HALL IN THE GREAT TEMPLE OF BUBASTIS.

THE HALL.

The festival hall is the most interesting part of the great temple of Bubastis. To relate its history would be to go over again that of the whole edifice, which I have told elsewhere. Let us remember that it was the second hall, entering from the east, and that judging from the heap of stones, which is all that remains of it, it had an approximate length of 80 feet and a breadth of 120. There the excavations began, and it is the part of the temple which gave the richest crop of monuments. We may sum up briefly the chief facts of its history.

The festival hall dates from the Old Empire. It contained a doorway with an inscription of Pepi I. I even believe that it was the sanctuary of the original temple. We do not know exactly the architectural plan of the temples of the Old Empire, as very little of them is still extant. They had a fate similar to that of most of our places of worship. They underwent considerable changes, which perhaps wiped out entirely all traces of the original buildings. The great cathedrals of our days are generally constructed on the site of much smaller edifices. If anything of the primitive sanctuary has been preserved, it is in the crypt, hidden under the pavement, on which rest stately columns and majestic arches. It was the same with the temples of Egypt. Moreover, the great simplicity of the constructions of the Old Empire, the absence of ornament and of inscriptions on the walls of the temples, prevent us from assigning their proper date to fragments which have been re-used in constructions of a more recent date. It seems probable that the temple on which were inscribed the names of Cheops and Chefren consisted of two chambers, the eastern one being the entrance, while the western was the sanctuary, the abode of a divinity, which one we do not know. This divinity was not *Bast* under the fourth or the sixth dynasty, not even perhaps under the twelfth. It was only much later that Bast became the chief goddess of the city to which she gave her name.

This small temple lasted until Usertesen III., who raised architraves of large dimensions, and who probably altered entirely the old construction. He added to it the colonnade which may have been an entrance to the sanctuary on the western side. We cannot say what form the great king of the twelfth dynasty gave to his renovated hall. Undoubtedly it contained a shrine, in the neighbourhood of which the kings placed their statues; for in the great number of them which were unearthed among the ruins, there were some going back to the twelfth dynasty, although they had the name of Rameses II.; for instance, the statue the head of which is in Sydney,[1] and the base still on the spot, perhaps also the colossi,[2] fragments of which only remain.

After the twelfth dynasty a king of the thirteenth left his name in the sanctuary; but we are uncertain as to what happened afterwards. It is possible that the first Hyksos invaders destroyed partly or even ruined the temple of Bubastis, if we are to believe the tradition preserved by Manetho; but admitting that the narrative of the Sebennyte priest is true as to the first conquerors, the monuments prove just the reverse concerning their successors and especially the last foreign kings. Far from treading in the steps of the invaders, the last Hyksos left at Bubastis some of their most beautiful monuments, and Apepi seems to have raised in the temple important constructions. There, they worshipped their god, who was Set after Apepi's reign, but who may have been another before him.

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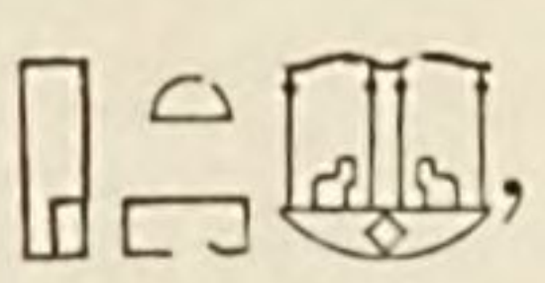
[1] Bubastis, pl. xxv. c.

[2] Id. pl. xxiii. c.

A few statues of officials go back to the eighteenth dynasty, but nothing showing a construction or even repairs on a large scale. Probably in the time of Amenophis III. the temple was standing in good order, and was dedicated to Amon. But before the nineteenth dynasty it was again ruined. Though Seti I. boasts of having renewed the edifices dedicated to his father Amon, he does not seem to have done much; it was his son Rameses II. who rebuilt the sanctuary, destroyed probably by the contemporaries of Khuenaten, the implacable enemy of the worship of Amon. Rameses II. began with erasing from all the architraves the inscriptions of his predecessors; and he did it so thoroughly that, but for a few omissions and negligences of his workmen, we should feel inclined to attribute to him the honour of the foundation of Bubastis. He lavished embellishments on the hall of the sanctuary. He collected there a great number of statues bearing his name; groups in which he was associated with one or two gods, and also what I called the architectural statues, which have a purely ornamental purpose, and do not pretend to give us a likeness of the king, though they have his cartouche.

Later on, the temple had again to suffer from the wars and the state of anarchy which the country had to endure. I suppose that it was during the struggles which preceded the accession of Rameses III. to the throne that the temple was overthrown. It remained in a state more or less of ruin, until the Bubastites, Osorkon I. and Osorkon II., took to raising it up again. Osorkon I. began with the entrance; Osorkon II. reconstructed the sanctuary, to which he gave the name which we shall use henceforth, "the festival hall" , or more completely "the hall of the Sed-festival."

It is hardly possible from a heap of stones to judge of the form of a building, especially when a considerable number of blocks have disappeared, having been carried away for various purposes. Before making a close study of the sculptures, I thought that they extended all round the hall, and that they were divided into two parts, the south and the north, like Egypt itself, each side differing in character and being distinguished by the headdress of the king. But when the blocks were put together, when each of them was measured and the angles reconstituted, we obtained for the building on which the sculptures were engraved the plan of Fig. 1. This looks exactly like the section of the door of a pylon dividing two halls, such as we see at Thebes, in the temple of Khonsu,[3] or at Kurneh,[4] or at Medinet Haboo.[5] The pylon would then have had the form shown in Fig. 2.

What I think more probable is that it was an entrance like that which exists at Soleb,[6] between the first and second hall, a long doorway, the two sides of which are broader than the enclosing wall, and project into one of the halls, so as to form with the enclosure an angle where statues or colossi were standing (Fig. 3).

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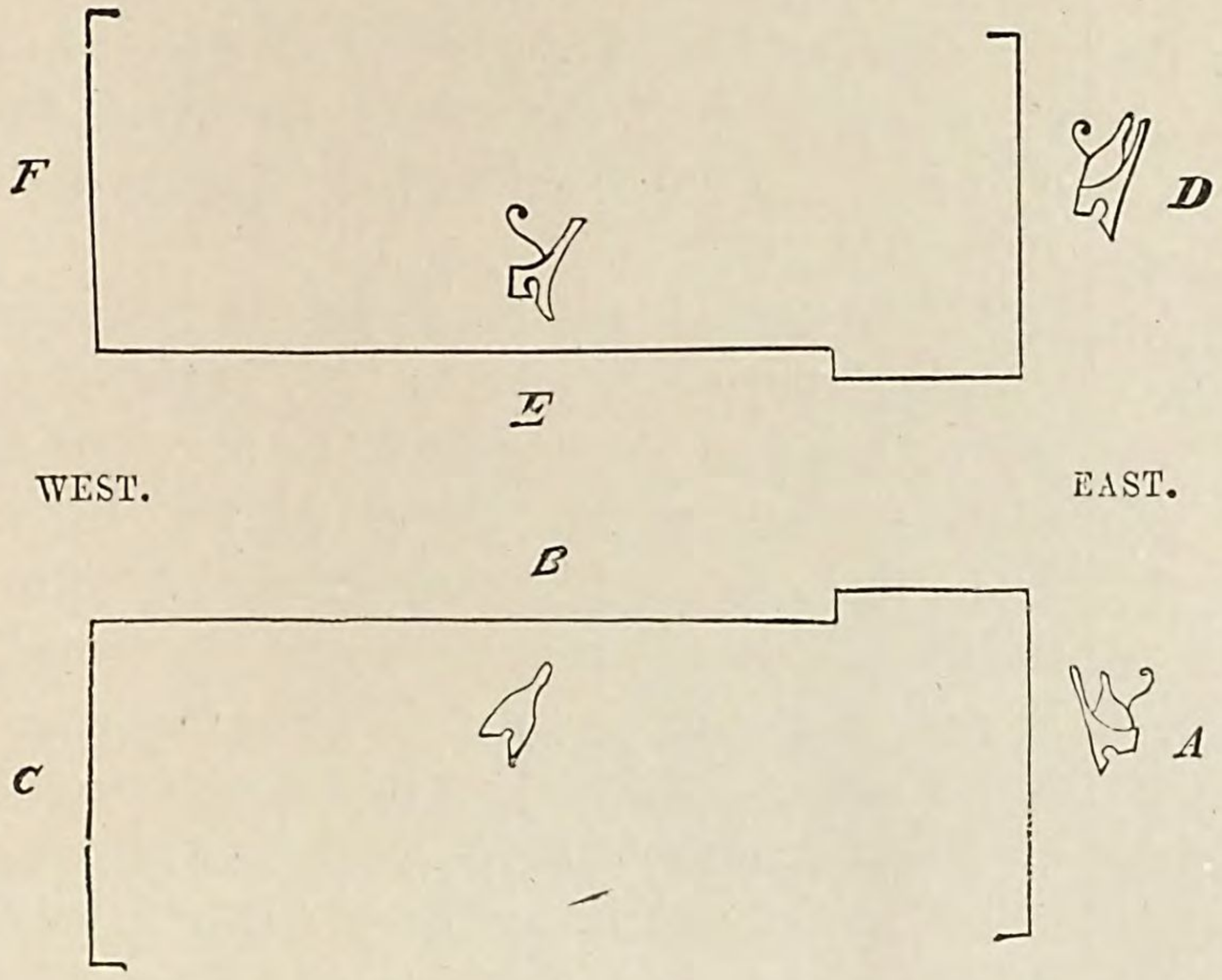
[3] Leps., Denkm. i. pl. 83.

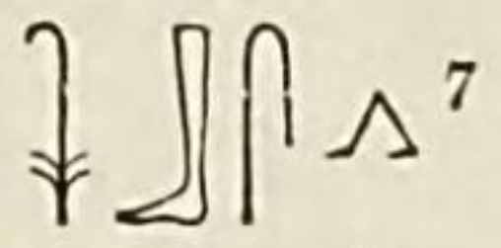
[4] Id. pl. 86.

[5] Id. pl. 92.

[6] Id. pl. 117.

Fig. 1.



Several circumstances show that it was an entrance. The walls A and D are not vertical, they are slightly sloping towards the west, as may be seen from the angle between A and B. On A and D the king wears the double diadem, and the representations are converging; on both sides they are turned towards the door where the king is supposed to go in. The first part of the walls B and E is slightly projecting, and is evidently meant to be a doorpost; besides, on the basement of the same walls we see sculptures nearly destroyed, representing the king, whom gods hold by the hand on each side and introduce into the hall. This scene is frequent in the Egyptian temples; it is always at the entrance, and is called "The Introduction of the King" [7] (pl. xxvi.).

It is probable that on this entrance was engraved the whole of the festival, and that no part of it stood on the walls of the hall. This would show that the walls were not sufficiently well built, or that the quality of stone was not good enough to bear such sculptures. The walls may have been made of limestone, and this fact explains why they have disappeared, like the pavement of the temple; perhaps also part of the hall was in bricks; but we see no traces of them in the soil, whereas there are quantities of limestone chips. We shall have to speak again of the temple of Soleb, where the inscriptions were also engraved on a doorway between the first and the second hall.

Fig. 2.

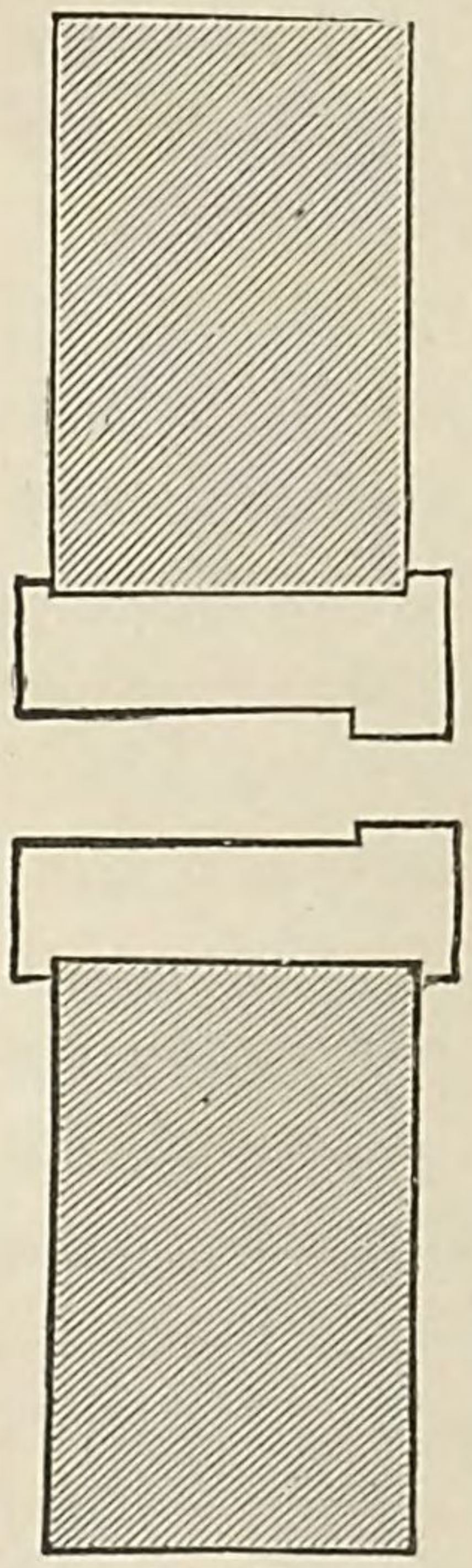
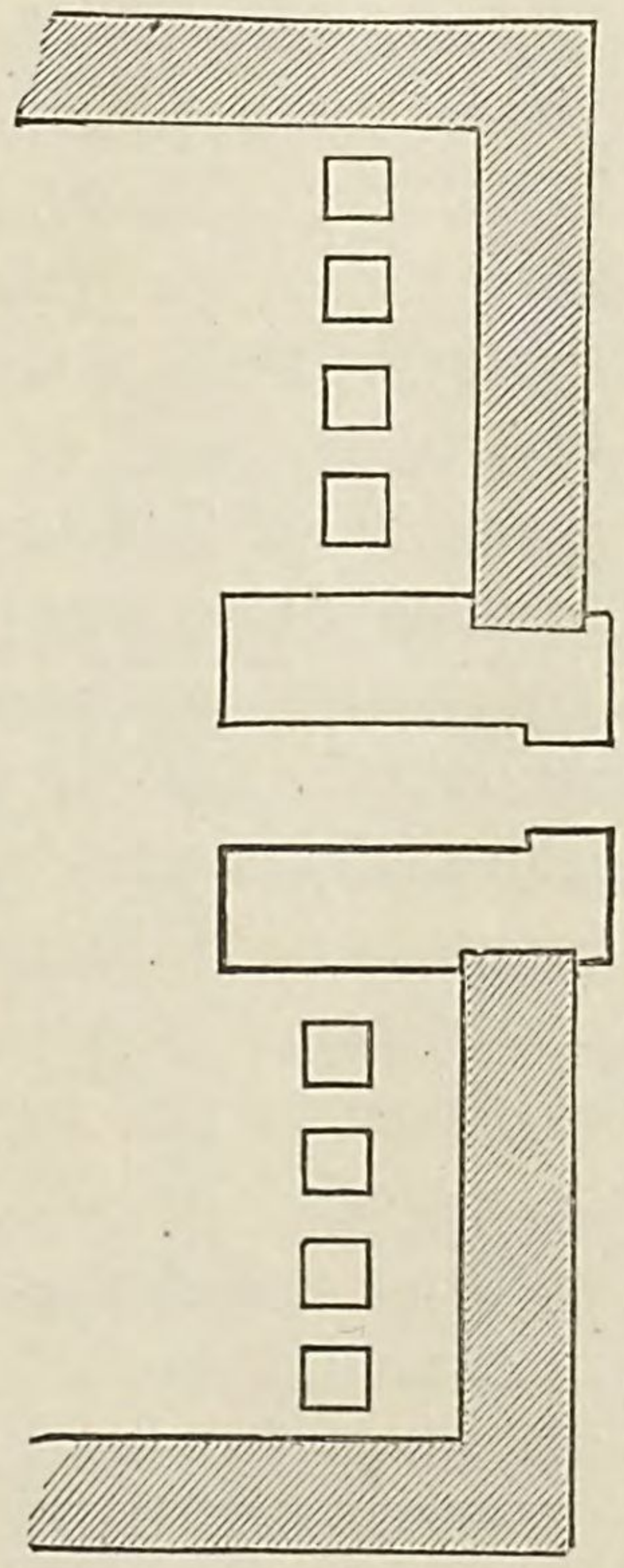


Fig. 3.



THE FESTIVAL.

The most important part of the inscriptions of the festival, the text from which we derive the clearest information as to the nature of the festival celebrated by Osorkon II., is found on Pl. vi. There we see the king sitting on a throne or litter, a true "sedia gestatoria," carried on the shoulders of six priests belonging to a low rank, and called *am khent*. The horizontal inscription which runs above the heads of the bearers reads as follows :—" The carrying of the king resting on his throne ; the king is on his way towards his abode." Below what must be drapery hanging from the bars which support the throne, we read these words :—" All lands, all countries, the Upper Retennu and the Lower Retennu are trodden[8] under the feet of this good god ; all the Rekhiu are living." The mention of the Retennu shows that Osorkon claimed the dominion over the Syrian nations, but it is obvious that in his case it was mere boasting. He never ruled over the Syrians, especially if, as is possible, he is the Zerah of the Bible, who was completely routed in his war against Asa. As for the words " the Rekhiu are living," it means that mankind, namely his subjects, in opposition to his enemies, of whom the Retennu are a type, are well provided for and prosperous.[9]

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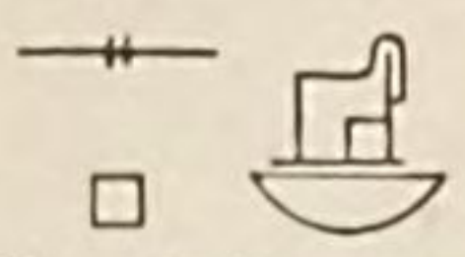
[7] Leps., Denkm. iii. 123, 124; Mar., Dendérah, i. pl. 12; Nav., "The Store-city of Pithom," 2nd ed. p. 31.

The throne on which the king is sitting is called  *sep*. At Abydos we see the King Seti I. carried on the same throne by the Spirits of North and South, and on this occasion a goddess says to him :[1] " Thou sittest on thy throne *sep* at the *Sed*-festival (the festival of thirty years), like Ra at the beginning of the year." The analogy with the representation at Abydos would already induce us to recognize in the festival of Bubastis a solemnity having reference to the calendar, or to a definite period of years.

The inscription on both sides of the king reads as follows :—

" In the year 22, on the first day of the month of Khoiak, the issuing (of the king) out of the sanctuary of Amon, in the festival-hall, resting on his throne ; the beginning of the consecrating of the two lands by the king, of the consecrating of the harem of Amon, and of consecrating all the women who are in his city, and who act as priestesses since the days of the fathers.

" They are as priestesses in the house of their lord, paying tribute by their work every year, when His Majesty wishes to celebrate great ceremonies in honour of his father Amon-Ra. As he (the god) granted his first *Sed*-festival to his son resting on his throne, he will grant him many at Thebes, the queen of barbarians. Said aloud in the presence of his father Amon : ' I have consecrated Thebes in her height and in her breadth, she is holy, she is given to her lord, her soil will not be visited by the inspectors of the royal house ; her inhabitants are consecrated eternally, in the great name of the good god (the king).' "

This inscription contains many obscure points, on which we can give no satisfactory explanation ; but what is most extraordinary is that it is found identical, as much as we can judge from very fragmentary remains, at a much earlier period, and in a region where we should not expect it. In Nubia, in a place which at present is not accessible, at Soleb, between Wady Halfa and Dongola, Amenophis III. of the eighteenth dynasty built a temple, or rebuilt an old one, some ruins of which have been preserved.[2] In this temple, which he dedicated to " his living image on earth," to himself, represented as a man with the horns of Amon, Amenophis III. is seen celebrating a festival which is in an abridged form exactly the same as at Bubastis, and the sculptures of which are engraved at a corresponding place, on the entrance to the second hall. Amenophis is seen carried on his litter, holding the same emblems as Osorkon. The inscription is much weathered, but what remains of it is identical with that of Bubastis.

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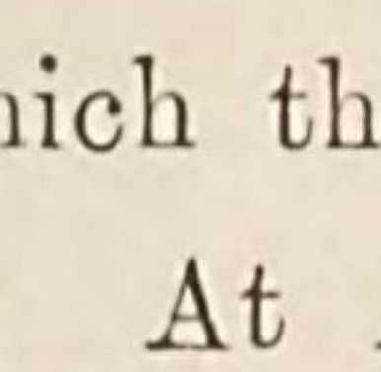
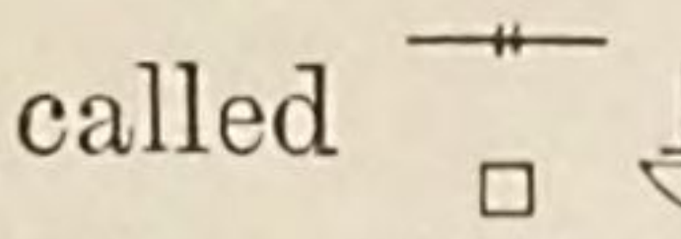
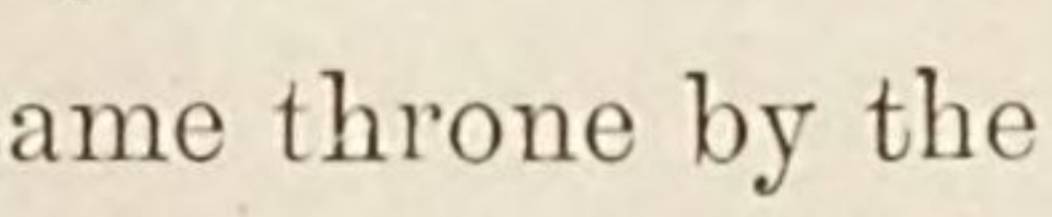
[8] The inscription reads , but I suppose it must be . Brugsch, Dict. p. 1412.

[9] See Inscr. of Canopus, l. 9 :  translated by ἕνεκα τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας.

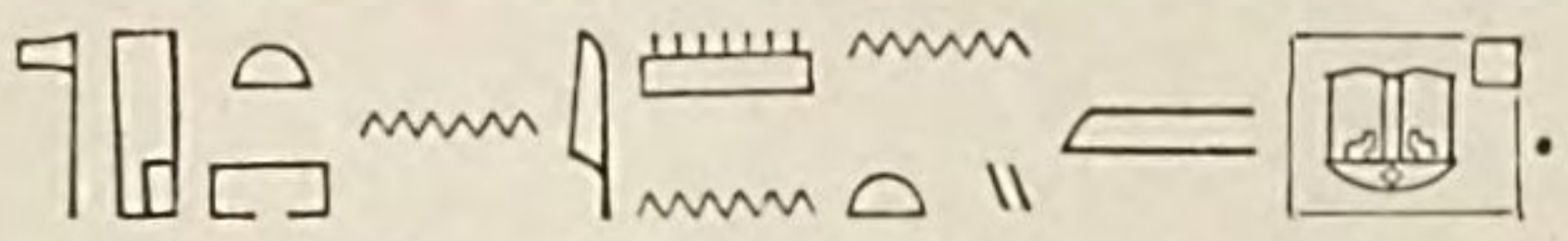
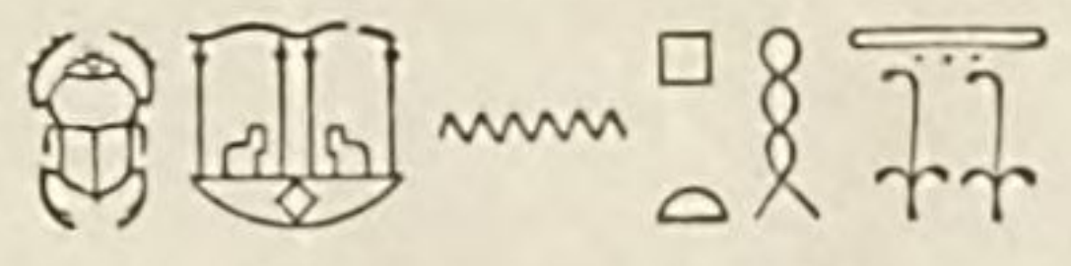
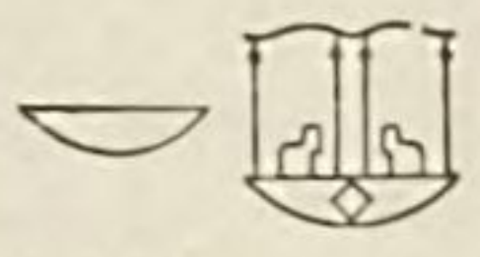
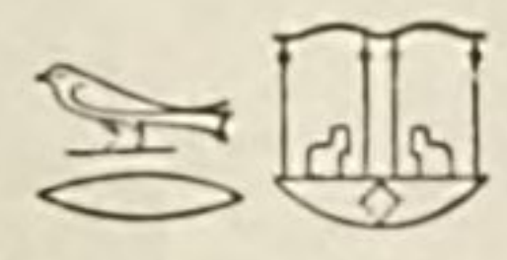
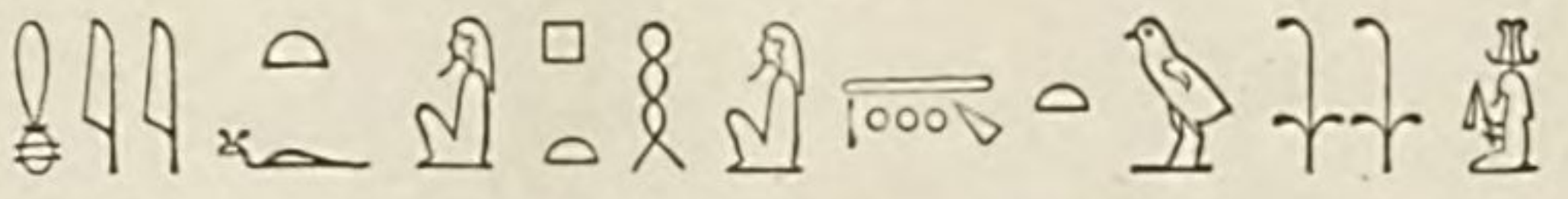
[1] Mariette, Abyd. i., pl. 31.

[2] Leps., Denkm. i. 116, 117, iii. 83-87.

Several of the scenes which we shall meet with occur also at Soleb, and especially the place where the *Sed*-festival was celebrated, a pavilion on the top of the temple called .[3] The two pavilions of Soleb and Bubastis are very much alike; at Soleb, in front of it, are the remains of an inscription nearly destroyed: "The access (?) to the *Sed*-festival." This proves that the ceremony at Bubastis was also a *Sed*-festival. A difference to be noted between the two temples is, that while at Soleb the king is represented wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, at Bubastis he has various head-dresses.

A mention of the *Sed*-festival is found in the great Harris papyrus of the British Museum. There Rameses III., speaking of what he has done at Memphis, says:[4]

"I made thee the first *Sed*-festival of my reign, in the great festivals of Tonen. I redoubled to thee what was done in the pavilion. I appointed to thee sacrifices of numerous offerings of bread, wine, beer, spirits, fruits, young cattle, calves, as it were hundreds of thousands, bulls by tens of thousands, without number; products of the districts of Egypt, like the sands of the shore. The gods of the north and south are assembled within it. I restored thy divine house in the halls of the *Sed*-festivals, which were ruined before my reign. I provided for the wish of all thy gods at the *Sed*-festivals,[5] gold, silver, and stones, as they were before."

This sounds very like a description of what is represented at Bubastis. There are some remarkable coincidences. Rameses says, that it takes place in the pavilion which he had constructed or renewed for this purpose.[6] He says, that for this occasion all the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt were gathered at Memphis. The same solemn gathering takes place at Bubastis, and is sculptured on its walls. Rameses had reconstructed the divine abode of Phthah, "in the halls of the *Sed*-festivals." Osorkon did the same, he renewed "the divine abode of Amon in the hall of the *Sed*-festival." . Lastly, Rameses III. informs us that the first *Sed*-festival of his reign was to coincide with *the great festivals of Tonen*. This god being a form of Phthah, the god of Memphis, his being mentioned when the king describes what he has done for this city, does not seem at all extraordinary; but at Bubastis the same thing occurs. We read (pl. xiv.)  "*the festival of Phthah Tonen takes place*," and the priest who is lying down on the floor "worships the god four times." This mention of Phthah Tonen, which seems strange at first sight, probably indicates that the festival of Osorkon is celebrated at the same time as that of Tonen, which perhaps took place in a different city. Tonen is, in fact, the patron of the *Sed*-festival, of the period of thirty years, the τριακονταετηρίς, after which it recurs. I need not quote instances of the king being called  or  "lord of the *Sed*-periods,"  "like his father *Phthah Tonen*." This god could not be forgotten at Bubastis, for it is he who causes the festival to occur at the proper time; that is the reason why we find his name so unexpectedly; otherwise he appears only as one of the visitors at the festival, and he takes part with other gods in the kind of blessing which is conferred on the king while he is sitting on his throne in the pavilion (pl. ii.).

There is no doubt that the festival of which Osorkon left us a description, is the festival

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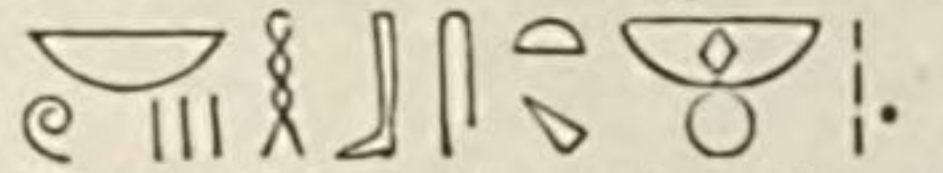
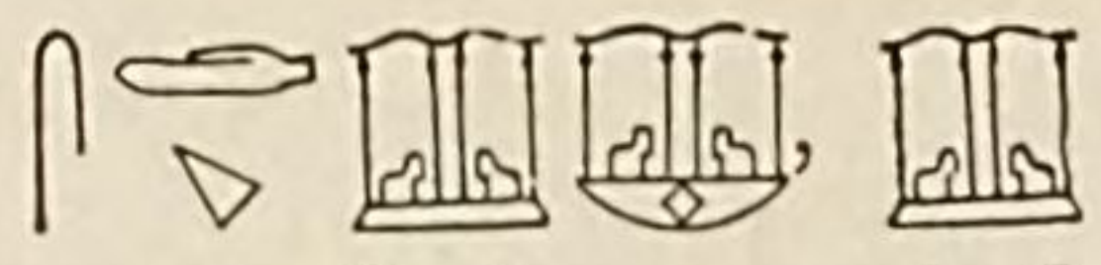
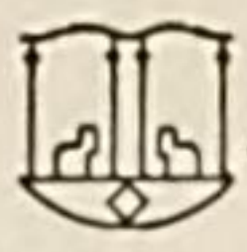
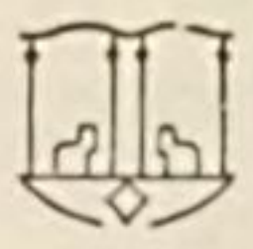
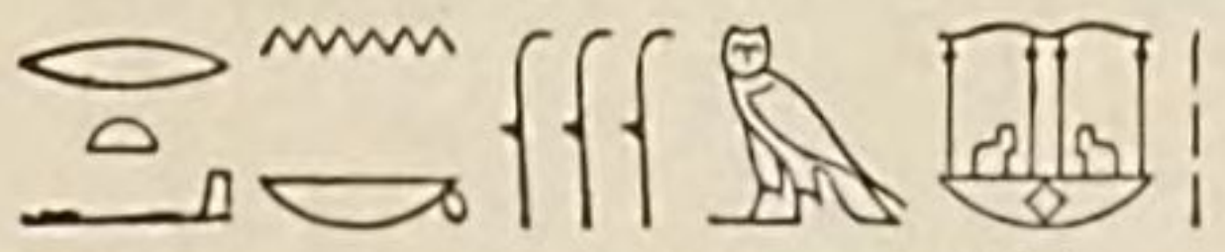
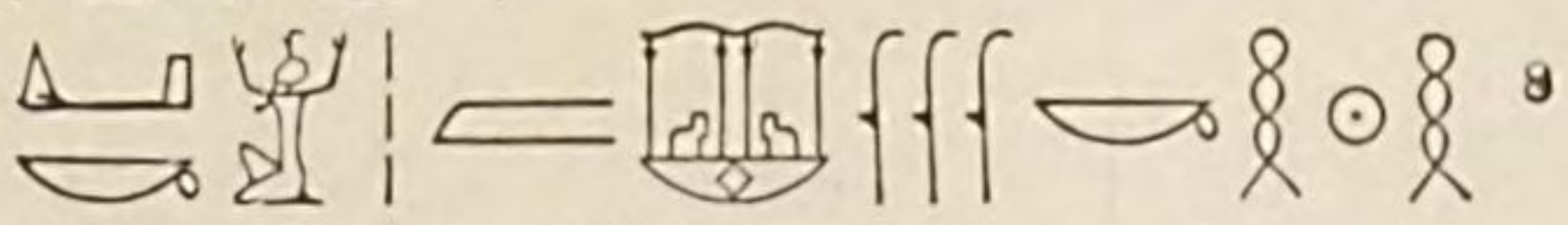
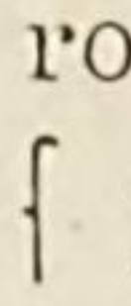
[3] For the variants see Brugsch, Dict. p. 1552, Suppl. p. 1331.

[4] Pap. Harris, pl. xlix. l. 10 and 81. I use Birch's translation with slight changes.

[5] .

[6] Pap. Harris, pl. xlv. 3.

called in Egyptian *Heb Sed*  or .[7] This festival corresponds to a period which in the titles of Ptolemy Epiphanes, quoted by the Rosetta stone, is translated τριακονταετηρίς, a period of thirty years. On this point the inscription discovered at Bubastis raises a difficulty which at present we are not able to explain. The date of the festival at Soleb is destroyed, and as we know that Amenophis III. reigned at least thirty-six years, he may have celebrated his festival in the thirtieth year of his reign. We can understand also Rameses III., who wrote his papyrus in the thirty-second year of his reign, saying that he had celebrated at Memphis his first anniversary of thirty years. But, how can Osorkon II. celebrate it in the twenty-second year of his reign? for it is certain that the date is twenty-two. The signs are all distinct, except the ∩ which is on the left of the column, and there is no room for inserting another ∩ which would make thirty-two. We are compelled to admit that it is twenty-two. Does Osorkon celebrate it in advance? or is the period reckoned independently of his reign, and does it include eight years of his predecessor? It would be the first example of this manner of reckoning the years.

This is not the only difficulty.  is the division of time above *renp*, the year. We constantly meet with promises of this kind:  "I give thee years by thirty;" [8] "I give thee millions of thirty years, thy years are eternal:" as we should say, I give thee millions of centuries. Here again the inscriptions of Bubastis totally disagree with the meaning which seems well established. On pl. xvii. 11, we see Bast standing before the king, who offers her the clepsydra, and the text reads: *He gives thee Sed periods of twelve years each.* The sign ∩ ten is broken on the right side, but a careful measurement shows that there is no room for another ∩ ten, only for the sign  year. Later on, under the reign of Nekht-horheb,[9] an inscription speaks of *Sed periods of fifty years each;* the stone is broken in the middle of the number, which was perhaps higher than fifty. At present I see no way of reconciling these different statements, which seem to contradict each other.

One thing is certain, the festival at Bubastis was connected in some way with the calendar. It was the beginning or the end of a definite period; it was not one of the ordinary religious festivals, recurring every year on a certain day of the month, and moving through the different seasons with the vague year, which was one fourth of a day shorter than the solar year. The festival occurred at a fixed historical date; and the other instances we know, under previous kings, do not fall in the same month. Rameses III. does not say in which month it occurred. At Soleb, though the date is destroyed, the few remaining signs point to a month of the third season, the summer; another line[1] speaks of something which lasts from the 26th of Khoiak to the 26th of Pakhons, which would make 4 months, 120 days. In the oldest version which we find of the Sed-festival,[2] in the time of Pepi, of the sixth dynasty, the date of the festival is the 27th of Epiphi.[3]

Another fact not to be omitted, and which

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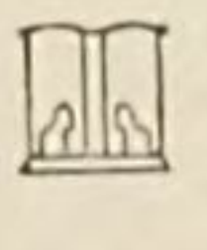
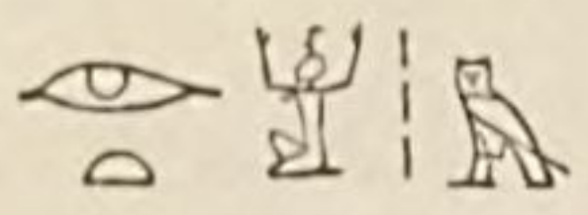
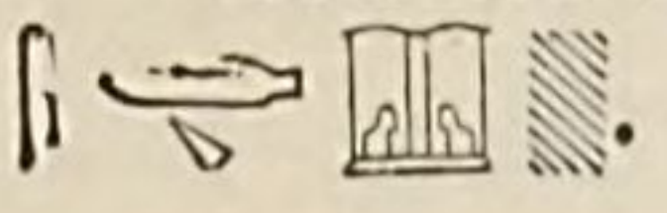
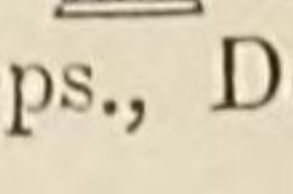
[7] The sign occurs here in various forms, but  is never found. See pl. ix. 9.

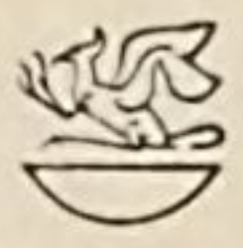
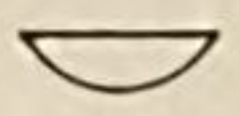
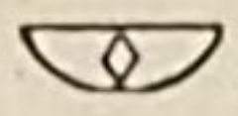
[8] At Soleb we find (Leps., Denkm. iii. 87, c)  .

[9] Bubastis, pl. xliv. E.

[1] Leps., Denkm. iii. 84 A.

[2] Leps., Denkm. ii. 115.

[3] The *Sed*-festival celebrated by Amenophis III. must have been one of the important events of his reign. He alludes to it several times, for instance at Luxor, where the king is seen sitting on the throne of the hall  exactly like Pepi in the sculpture of Hamamât (Leps., Denkm. iii. 74, D).

possibly points also to a period of the calendar, is the ornamentation which occurs on the throne of Osorkon in the pavilion (pl. ii.),  the bird with two arms raised, crouching over the sign  or . This ornamentation is already found at the time of the eighteenth dynasty, in several tombs at Thebes,[4] under Amenophis III., and one of the heretical kings. Rameses III. also used it in his beautiful enamelled building of Tell el Yahudieh.[5] It is considered by Lepsius,[6] Brugsch, and Mahler,[7] as referring to the period of the Phœnix, the meaning and duration of which are still uncertain. The bird, which in the old representations has the head of a bat, is said by Herodotus to return to Heliopolis every 500 years after the death of its father. Later authors have created the legend of the bird burning itself, and rising again from its ashes. Although classical authors mention it frequently, it is doubtful whether the Phœnix period really was an Egyptian period, and whether it was ever made use of in astronomical calculations.

The *Sed*-festival is very old; it is on record as early as the time of King Pepi, of the sixth dynasty, and at that remote epoch we already see the king represented with the flail and the crook, like Osorkon, when he is carried on his litter; also Pepi wears alternately the northern and southern headdress, as it is at Bubastis. It is hardly to be supposed, however, that the ritual employed in the numerous ceremonies connected with the festival is as old as the festival itself. The ritual grew by degrees, as time went on, and probably never was so complicated as under the Ptolemies; nevertheless, some of the principal features of the *Sed* go back to the eighteenth dynasty, and are found at Soleb; for instance, what I should call the introductory text, which is engraved near the king being carried in his litter, and which is identical in both places, at Soleb and at Bubastis, under Amenophis III., and under Osorkon. This remote origin may explain to us certain points which strike us as being out of place at Bubastis. Why, for instance, should Thebes be mentioned twice? What has the festival in the Delta to do with the capital of Upper Egypt? Apparently nothing. But if we have here a ritual text handed down from a remote antiquity, preserved during several centuries in a stereotyped form, and in which no changes could be made, we can understand why the name of the southern capital should occur in one of the principal cities of Lower Egypt.

In both places also the festival is celebrated in honour of Amon, though he was not the god of the city.[8] At Soleb, the divinity to whom the temple is dedicated is Amenophis III. himself, his own person represented wearing the lunar disc like Khonsu, and the horns of Amon; the king is considered as the son of Amon, but he is not Amon himself. At Bubastis, Amon was the god of the temple under the eighteenth dynasty. He was nearly superseded by Set under Rameses II. He is still found occasionally in the sculptures of Osorkon I., with other gods of Egypt; but already under his reign Bast is becoming more and more the chief divinity of the place. Except in the festival-hall she appears everywhere in the inscriptions of Osorkon II. as the goddess who presides at Bubastis. Osorkon II. even went so far as to erase the name of Set from the older sculptures, and to replace it by *Mahes*, the son of Bast. However, he celebrated the *Sed*-festival in honour of Amon. But though Bast does not take the leading part in the solemnity, she is not absent from it. She appears in the great sculptures which are in the lower part of the walls; to her Osorkon offers the clepsydra; and in all the various episodes of the ceremony, whether the king is sitting or standing, Bast stands before him, as if she directed the whole process, showing that everything was done under her special protection.

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[4] Leps., Denkm. iii. 76, 115, 118.

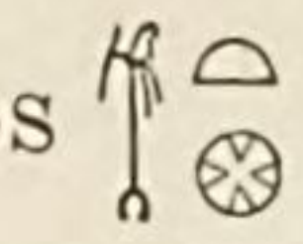
[5] Em. Brugsch, Recueil, vol. viii. pl. 2.

[6] Chron. p. 183.

[7] Zeitschr. 1890, p. 122.

[8] Leps., Denkm. iii. 86.

Osorkon II., as well as Rameses III., renewed or reconstructed, on the occasion of the festival, *the house of Amon which is in the house of the Sed-festival* (pl. vi. 11). If the inscription which speaks of it were not broken off, we should probably find in it that the festival-hall was in ruins when Osorkon began reconstructing it. I have dwelt elsewhere on the fact that the reconstruction of a large temple like that of Bubastis could not always be the work of one single reign, and that, although the edifice was partly ruined, the worship was still going on, as is the case now in many mosques of Cairo. Osorkon I. had rebuilt the entrance-hall; Osorkon II. completed his work by raising up again the festival-hall. As for the *house or abode of Amon*, which was in the hall, we do not know its size, but it seems probable that it was very small; it was perhaps only a shrine carried on the shoulders of the priests, on the day of the "rising" of the god.

Since the introductory text goes back at least as far as the eighteenth dynasty, and as it is a ritual formula, the acts which it describes must have been performed on every occasion when the festival recurred. These acts are difficult to understand. They seem to indicate that the king took possession anew of the whole land, and consecrated anew to Amon whatever belonged to the god's worship, especially the women of the city, who, according to an old tradition handed down from the days of the fathers, were bound to act as priestesses or slaves to the god. This work of theirs was reckoned to them as a yearly tribute. Why the following lines carry us to Thebes we cannot explain otherwise than by the fact that the text had been written down for centuries and could not be modified. This text had undoubtedly a Theban origin, but at Bubastis on this occasion people spoke of Thebes without attaching to the name a definite geographical meaning, just as they would say a city in general, or the capital. This is the only explanation I can give, unless perhaps  is another name of Bubastis, which has not yet been proved.

We read that Thebes, the city or the territory, is given, consecrated to the god: "*in its height and its breadth, it is holy and given to its lord.*" Then comes an interesting clause: "*It will not be visited by the inspectors of the palace.*" The *royal inspectors of the palace*[9] occur frequently in the texts, and their functions are well known. Once, after the battle of Megiddo, they are described as dividing the conquered land in plots or allotments, and valuing them in order to fix the rent, which is to be paid in kind. Elsewhere we see them having the control of large flocks. They evidently are officials of the treasury entrusted with the inspection and valuation of land and property in general, and with fixing the taxes or tributes to be paid to the sovereign. It is probable that this case of the inspectors being prohibited from entering the god's domains, is not the only instance of the priests—we should say in modern language the church—being thus placed in a privileged situation in regard to the king, who is the representative of the civil and military power. This sentence is an interesting commentary on what we read in Genesis[1] about Joseph. Both when he takes the land of the people in exchange for corn, and afterwards when he restores it to the people on condition that they shall pay one-fifth of the income to Pharaoh, he does not touch the land of the priests; for in his time the land of the priests must already have enjoyed a similar privilege, it was not to be visited by the royal inspectors.

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[9] Brugsch, Dict. Suppl. p. 126; Maspero, Et. Eg. ii. p. 173.

[1] Ch. xlvii.

Thus we come to the conclusion that the festival celebrated at Bubastis, and represented at the entrance of the second hall, is the great festival called *Heb Sed*, which was connected with the calendar and with a period generally considered to be of thirty years. It had nothing to do with "the assembly at Bubastis" described by Herodotus,[2] which took place every year, and of which, according to the inscription of Canopus,[3] there were two, the great and the small, both celebrated in the month of Payni. The festival of Osorkon was in no way especially connected with Bast, the goddess of the city, except perhaps by this circumstance, that it took place on the first day of Khoiak; for most of the calendars call Khoiak the month of *Sekhet*, one of the usual forms of the lion-headed goddess.[4]

We shall now pass on to the description of the principal episodes of which this great ceremony consists.

THE FIRST ASCENT TO THE PAVILION.

In this description, as much as we can and wherever we have been able to reconstruct the arrangement of the blocks, we shall follow the order adopted by the Egyptians and begin with the lower part. With the Egyptians the general rule of perspective is that whatever is lowest is the nearest. In a picture the horizon is at the top. For a procession the point of departure is below, and the point of arrival above, which is the more natural in this case since the procession is marching towards the roof. We shall consider first the wall A, on the left side of the entrance (pl. i.-iii.).

As usual, we have quite below, on what probably was the basement, sculptures representing the king making offerings to various divinities whom he has to propitiate before beginning his festival. The lowest are nearly entirely destroyed (pl. iii. 14, 15). We see only the goddess *Uot'i* promising to Osorkon a happy life like Ra. Before her was a god, broken off except the headdress, who perhaps was *Tum*. *Uot'i* is one of the forms of Bast.[5] But she is generally considered as the goddess of Lower Egypt, while *Nekheb* is the goddess of Upper Egypt. Both goddesses appear standing behind the king in the pavilion (pl. i. 1).

Above *Uot'i* was a god, of whom we see only the legs (pl. iii. 14); he holds a sceptre ending with the tadpole on a ring, which is the sign for 100,000, and before which are repeated the signs of the *Sed* period. The god was probably Thoth, and he promised to the king an unlimited number of periods of thirty years. Such representations are common in the Egyptian temples.

Higher up we see the king, followed by his queen Karoama; he is standing on a raised platform, to which a staircase gives access, and he offers to the goddess *Nekheb*, who is destroyed, what is said to be the clepsydra, called by the Egyptians *sheb*. It is difficult to understand how this instrument was used. Horapollo says that on their water-clocks the Egyptians engraved a crouching ape. On the strength of this passage, Brugsch and others have recognized the water-clock in the *sheb*, which always bears a crouching ape. It is certain that the *sheb* was connected with the measurement of time; but we cannot say how this measurement was made. Behind the king a priest is presenting to him the same offering which he makes to the goddess; and farther back still the procession is forming which is to accompany the king to the pavilion (pl. iii. 12).

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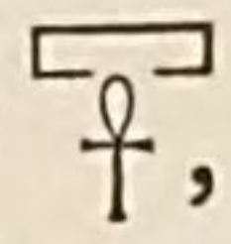
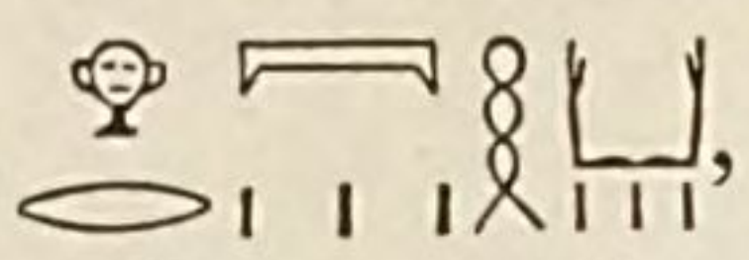
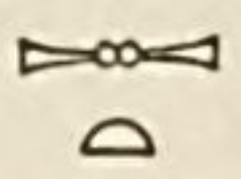
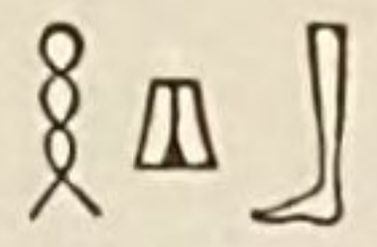
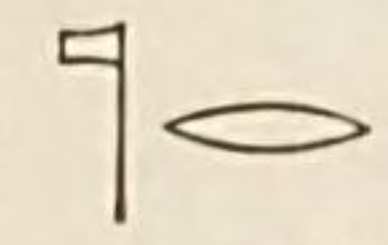
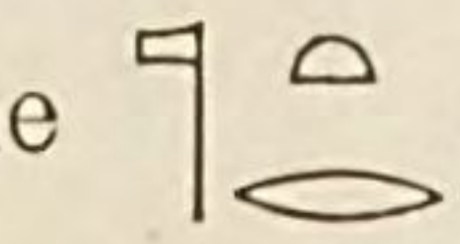
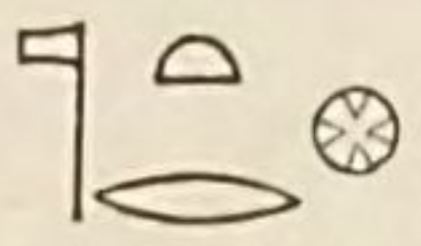
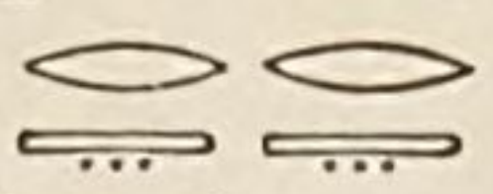
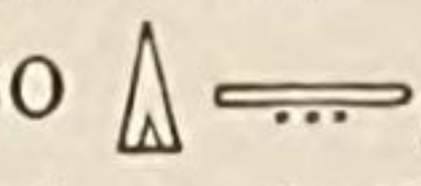
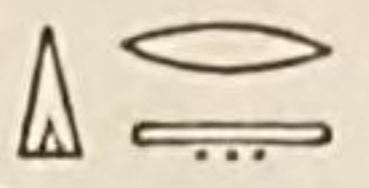
[2] Bk. ii. 60.

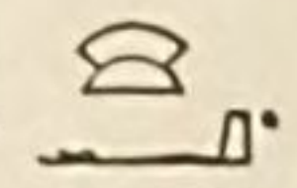
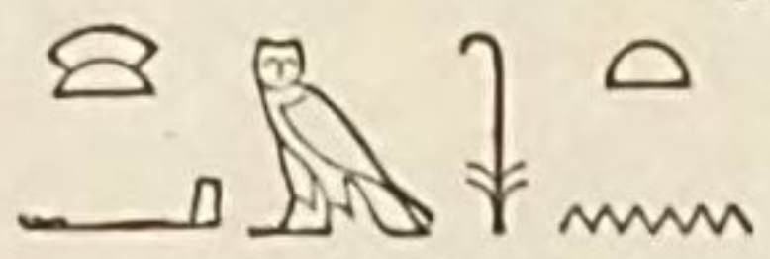
[3] Inscr. of Canopus, Greek text, l. 38.

[4] Brugsch, Thes. pp. 315, 346; Lauth, Chron. p. 16, 48.

[5] Bubastis, pl. xxxviii. c.

The procession begins with the learned men, the priests belonging to , the school of sacred writers, who know all about the ceremonies to be performed, all the details of the rituals, and who are able to prescribe what is to be done; therefore they are represented with a roll of papyrus in one hand. They are of different classes. There are the *heru heku*, , who may be the "magicians," those who wrought miracles by speaking magic formulas, and practised the hidden art. Others are called  *thes*, who would be those who recited the liturgy, like the  *kherheb*. With them, and perhaps at their head, is a man who seems to have had a high position and to be a very important person; we shall find him repeatedly in the festival. He is a priest clothed in a long dress, and waving with both hands a heavy mace or sceptre. He is called  *neter*, literally, the god. I should not wonder if he were the high priest of Bubastis, though the Ptolemaic lists give him another name. He must be connected with the  *neter*, the part of the temple where one of the feet of Osiris was preserved.[6] The shrine , containing this very precious relic, was afterwards placed by Nekhthorheb in the hall which he added to the temple.[7]

Behind the priest *neter*, and also before the sacred writers, we see two men looking at each other, joined by the elbows and raising their hands towards their mouths. This group of men occurs several times; they are always in pairs, making the same gestures, and the words they utter are always  "*On the ground, on the ground*," and also , which I consider as an abridged form for  "*Put* (yourselves)" or "*throw* (yourselves) *on the ground*." I believe it is a command given to some of the priests to throw themselves on the ground as a mark of respect when the king or the shrine of a god is passing. In fact, we see several times (pl. ii. 9, xi. 6, xiv. 1, etc.) that priests are lying down quite flat on the ground, "smelling the ground" before the king, as the Egyptian language tersely expresses it. It reminds us of what is said of Joseph:[8] "And they cried before him, Bow the knee,"—*clamante præcone ut omnes coram eo genu flecterent* (Vulgate).[9]

The series of sculptures above shows the procession moving on (pl. ii. 10-11.) The inscriptions in front of the king give a summary explanation: "The rising out of the *peruer* and the departure in order to rest in the pavilion of the Sed-festival." The carrying of a sacred emblem out of its shrine in a festival, or the solemn apparition of a king in a religious ceremony, is compared to the rising of the sun or of a star, and is expressed by the same word . This word applies also to the coronation, which was one of the greatest solemnities of the reign.  "to rise as king," means to be crowned, to come to the throne; and the risings of a god are the great festivals celebrated to him. In this case, though we have seen that the festival is in honour of Amon and under his patronage, it is not this god who has the most prominent place in the ceremony; it is the king himself who is worshipped, he has all the appearance and demeanour of a god, and has often in his hands the emblems of Osiris.

Judging from the analogy with the temple of Denderah, we should say that the *peruer*, the hall or chamber out of which the king rises, was the hall containing the sacred shrine of Amon. We are so completely ignorant of the form of the sacred hall that it is impossible to say whether *peruer* means the sacred hall itself, which would have had several names, as is often the case, or whether it was a part or division of the sacred hall. It is not impossible that the place where the shrine of Amon was deposited was separated from the rest of the hall by some inner walls, and formed a separate chamber quite obscure, as the rooms containing shrines generally were.

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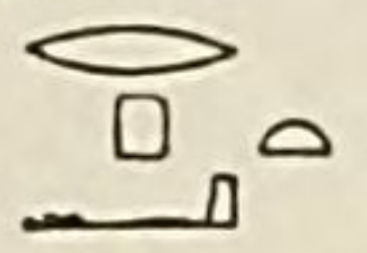
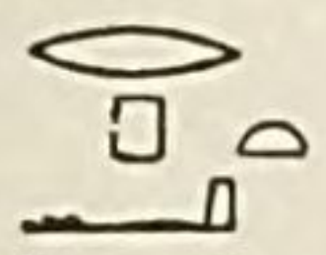
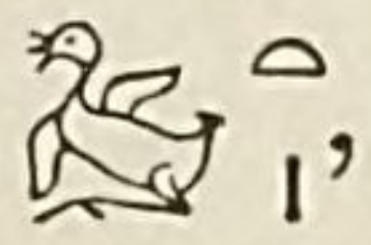
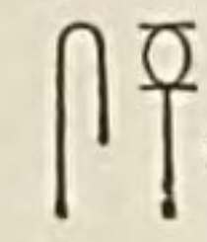
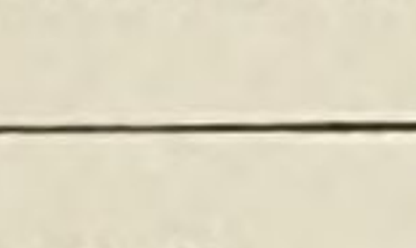
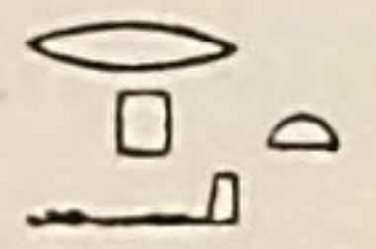
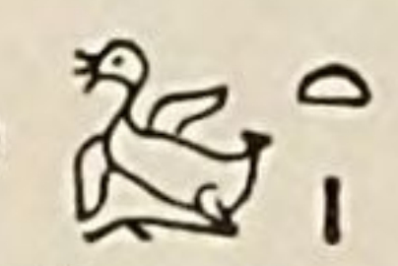
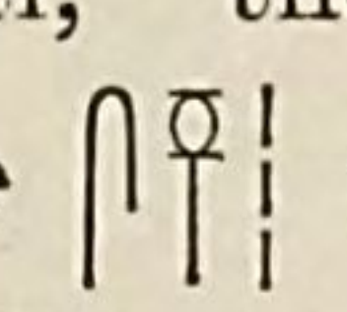
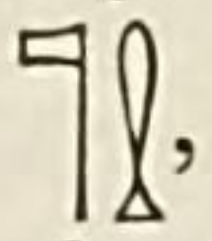
[6] J. de Rougé, Géog. anc. de la Basse Egypte, p. 123.

[7] Bubastis, pl. xliv. C., xlv. H.

[8] Gen. xli. 43.

[9] The LXX. has here a variant: καὶ ἐκήρυξεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ κήρυξ.

The king comes last at the end of a long procession (pl. ii. 10-13), part of which is represented at Soleb, in the sculptures of the festival of Amenophis III. The procession begins with the three kinds of officials occupying the highest rank in the civil hierarchy of Egypt; the  whom Maspero[1] calls *prince,* and considers as a great hereditary vassal who had to pay tribute, and to provide a certain number of soldiers in time of war. The  here holds a long stick ending in a hook, which is a sign of command. The second in rank, the , is not hereditary, his office is both civil and military; he is often governor of a city or of a house. Maspero[2] translates his name *comte.* As for the , E. de Rougé has recognized in them the "friends," the φίλοι of the Ptolemaic kings,[3] who were the companions of the sovereign in his military expeditions. But, as Maspero rightly observes when speaking of the , these titles must often be considered as mere court titles, which do not imply any military or civil employment. Such seems to me to be the case here. I do not believe that we see here governors of provinces, or high military or civil officials, but rather the king's household, his attendants; and giving them modern court titles, I should call the  a "marshal," the  a "chamberlain." As for the  who carry the fans and other objects, which may be bags or rolled carpets, they seem to me to answer to the "pages" of the present day.

The head of the procession is on the lowest line. After the marshal, and two pages bearing fans, come two more men shouting, "On the ground, on the ground!" I should not wonder if these words were sung, or if they were pronounced in a kind of sing-song, with gestures always the same, so as to make an accompaniment to the march of the procession, and to mark a rhythm which regulates the pace. It recalls to my mind the song of the Arab *shayaleen* carrying a stone, and marking the pace with certain rhythmic words; or the trains of girls carrying baskets and singing for hours a monotonous and drawling melody. Sometimes two will stop, turn towards each other, and sing in each other's face at the top of their voices. It is not unlike what we see in these sculptures. In this line there is one priest only, a , a prophet, carrying an offering which looks like the leg of a bull.

Behind what I have called the king's household comes a divinity in the form of a jackal, carried on a pedestal from which fall draperies. It is the god of Sioot, the old Lycopolis, Anubis, called here *Apuat,* "he who opens the ways." This god is considered as the guide who shows to the gods, and here to the king, the direction they are to follow. There are two *Apuat,* two jackals; the god of Sioot, or of the South, who is styled *Sekhem toui,* the "master of Egypt," and who, being the most important of the two, is often represented as larger than the other, *Apuat* of the North. Brugsch considers that this god, who is a form of Osiris, has an astronomical meaning, and that the opener of the ways in the North and in the South is a symbol of the two solstices,[4]

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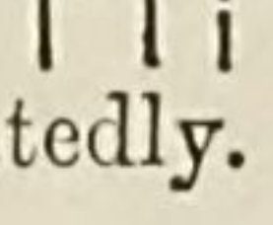
[1] Maspero, Et. Eg. ii. p. 15 ff.

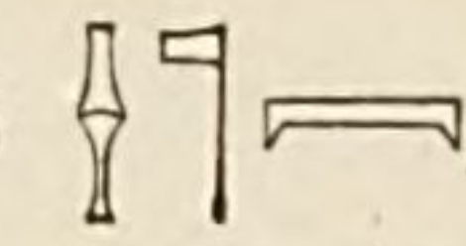
[2] Maspero, *loc. cit.* p. 19.

[3] Lumbroso, Econ. pol. p. 191. The  were also priests, and we shall see them as such repeatedly.

[4] Brugsch, Myth. p. 671.

after each of which the sun alters its apparent course. If Brugsch's explanation is true, if *Apuat of the South* is really the winter solstice, his presence in the festival with his high-priestess and his sacerdotal train, the prominence given to him by the fact that he is represented larger than other gods, his frequent occurrence in these sculptures—all these circumstances would induce us to think that the festival took place at the winter solstice. The 1st of Khoiak, the day of the festival, would thus have been about the 21st of December in that year, and the first day of the year, the 1st of Thoth, would have been about the 21st of August, thirty days after the beginning of the fixed solar year.

If we turn to the representation of the *Sed*-festival at Soleb we find the same thing. There also *Apuat of the South*, of Sioot, is much greater than *Apuat of the North*. We cannot see whether he is carried on a pedestal or not, but he is accompanied by a train of priests holding emblems, at the head of whom is a woman in plain dress, without any ornament, and called "the divine mother of Sioot." I believe that this woman is the high-priestess of Anubis, though her name does not appear as such in the Ptolemaic lists, which mention, however, the sanctuary of the *divine mother*, containing the foot of Osiris.[5] At Bubastis we see her three times, always preceding *Apuat* (pl. xii.). In the register above that which we are now describing (pl. i. 6) she is nearly entirely destroyed, but she is easily recognizable, besides the procession seems to have been a repetition of the lower one.

Behind the "divine mother" come two prophets carrying emblems of divinities. The first is the prophet of Horus, who is often connected with Apuat, for it is Apuat of the South, the god of the winter solstice, who causes the aged sun to be renewed, and to revive under the form of Horus. "I come, bringing life and happiness," says Apuat of the South to King Seti I., "thou art renewed like Horus, as king."[6] The second emblem looks like two sticks; it belongs to a god whom I consider as the same as , who is mentioned in an inscription concerning the nome of Sioót as the son of Apuat of the South, and of whom it is said: "He opens the way when thou (a king) advancest towards the lower world."[7] Immediately afterwards come the bearers carrying the god. There are six of them supporting the shaft; close to the god marches a priest dressed in a panther skin, who, I suppose, occasionally offers to the god frankincense, as in the funeral procession.[8] The text reads: "The departure, carrying the god towards the great hall." In most cases the great or wide hall is a colonnade, so that it is quite possible that the god was brought out of the festival-hall into the hypostyle hall where, perhaps, was the foot of the staircase leading up to the roof.

Behind the gods, march again prophets holding emblems, which are most of them Anubis; the second has a bow, which is called in another place (pl. ix. 6) an emblem of Nubia. Apuat of the North comes after all the Anubis, and last of all a prophet holding an emblem which looks like a piece of flesh or of meat, and which we know to represent *Khonsu*.[9] Before the king, who is followed by his queen Karoama, is the priest who is seldom absent from a procession of any kind,[10] the *kherheb*, holding a roll of papyrus. It is he who directs the whole proceeding, who assigns to each person his rank or office; he reads the liturgy; he is what we should call the "master of the ceremonies."[1] He must have been a learned man and deeply versed in all the intricacies of this complicated ritual. With the king and queen ends the first scene of the festival, the departure towards the pavilion.

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[5] Brugsch, Dict. Géog. p. 1359.

[6] Mar., Abyd. i. 23.

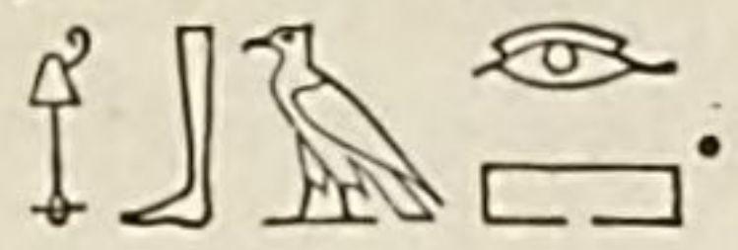
[7] Duem., Geog. Inschr. i. 52.

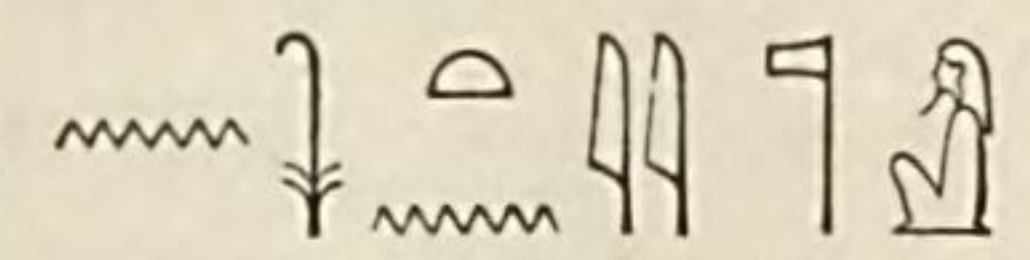
[8] Naville, Todt. pl. i. and iii.

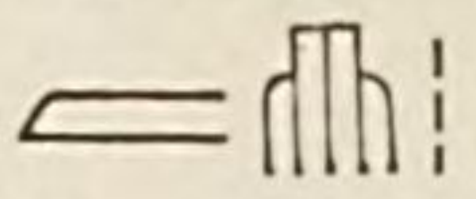
[9] Mariette, Dendérah, i. 22.

[10] Todt. pl. i. and ix.

[1] Maspero, Et. Eg. ii. p. 51.

Higher up comes the second scene. We see the king (pl. ii. 8) sitting on a throne placed on a raised platform open on all sides, and to which access is given by four staircases, named from the cardinal points the staircase of the north, of the south, and the like. This platform I believe to be on the roof; it probably was not very distant from the pavilion. I suppose this kind of platform or terrace is what the Egyptians called . The king is obliged to turn successively towards each of the points of the horizon, so that his face may look the first time towards the South, the second towards the North, the third towards the West, and the fourth towards the East. Each time, while he is sitting on his throne, two divinities stand near him, and raise their hands above his head as if they were giving him their blessing. The names of several of the gods have disappeared. The first blessing is given by Tonen, and another god who may be Amon; the second time it is Tum and possibly Harmakhis; the third time *Khepra* and *Seb*, and lastly Isis and Nephthys.

Osorkon begins with the South as usual. He is sitting exactly in the attitude of Osiris, and holds the insignia of that god. Three priests go up the stairs leading to him and bring him emblems. The first has a standard, a head crowned with the *atef*; the head is indistinct on the paper cast; it looks like a lion on the plate, but I believe it to be a ram, the emblem of Amon. Behind, another priest brings the standard of Tum; and a third what used to be called the standard of the king, but which I believe now, with M. Maspero, and Mr. F. Petrie,[2] to be the symbol of the *Ka*, the "double" of the king.[3] While they are going up, another priest says the following words: "Horus rises and rests on his Southern throne, then happens the joining of the sky to the earth, four times." These last words mean that the sentence is repeated each time when the king turns to another side of the horizon, with the variant that the throne instead of being Southern would be Northern, and so on. The sentence is somewhat enigmatic, like most of the formulas in the Egyptian liturgies. However, the identification of the king with Horus on his throne is one of the usual ways of expressing the coming to the royal power, the coronation. We may conclude from the words and from the ceremony itself that at the same time as the *Sed*-festival, Osorkon celebrates the anniversary of his coming to the throne, of his coronation. I believe it is the same with Rameses III., and that we are to interpret in that way the words quoted before, from the Harris papyrus: "I made thee the first *Sed*-festival of my reign." The words  "of my royal power," or "of my reign," seem to indicate that also in the time of Rameses III. the *Sed*-festival coincided with his jubilee of thirty years.

There are many witnesses to the king being thus crowned and blessed by the gods. There are first the queen Karoama, followed by her daughters, and several kinds of priests; the *amkhentu*, the *semeru*, and the *ueru* of North and South, who are prostrated before him. They are not simply bowing, or kneeling, or touching the ground with their heads; they are lying quite flat on the ground as if the king were to tread upon them, like the Sheykh of the Saadeyah dervishes riding over the body of fanatics in the now prohibited ceremony of the Doseh. No such barbarous practices as that just mentioned, are known to have existed in Old Egypt; but it is not impossible that the king passed over the bodies of the priests or between two rows of men lying down; perhaps also, it is a peculiar attitude for worship or prayer, for which we might find parallels in Scripture. None of these priests is of a very high order; the  *am-khentu* are those "of the first hall," something like the antechamber. I should say they were sacerdotal attendants of a low rank; they were numerous in each temple; it was the same with the *semeru*, the "friends," and the *ueru*, the "great ones," who were the priests of Heliopolis, and other sanctuaries.

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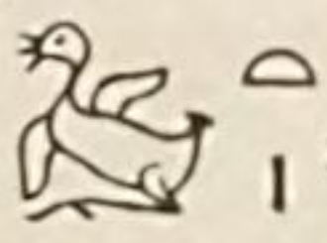
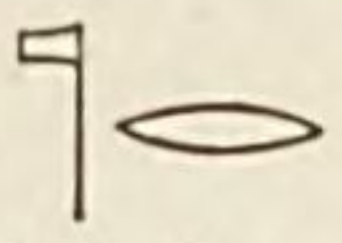
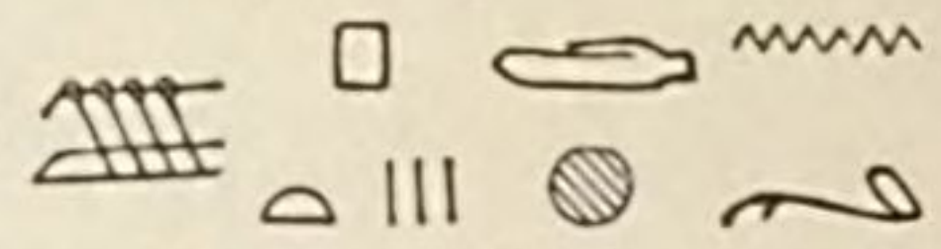
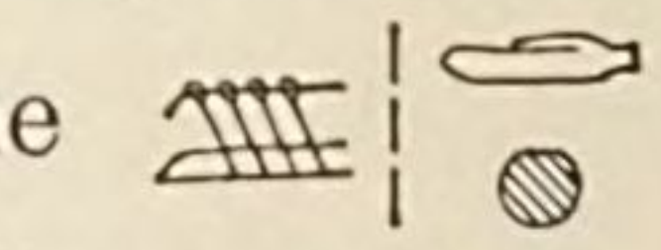
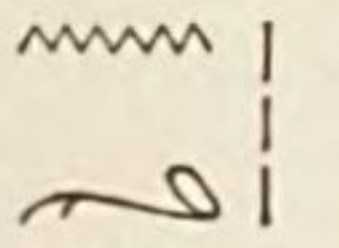
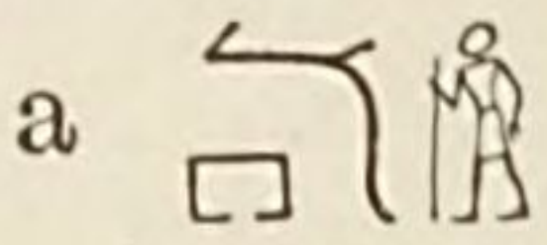
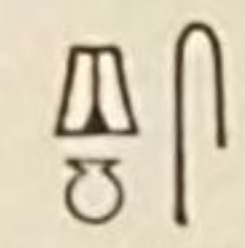
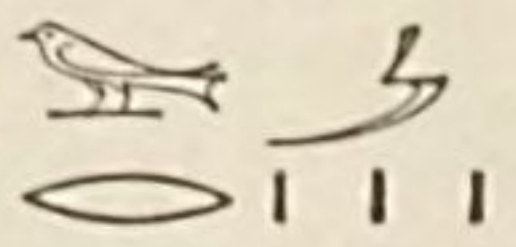
[2] A Season in Egypt, p. 21.

[3] See Leps., Denkm. iii. 55, 75.

The other witnesses are a long train of prophets, who seem to be called the "followers of Horus," the "Horshesu;" they hold standards which are the emblems of the different nomes or provinces of Egypt; some of them are nothing but the representation of the god who was worshipped in the nome, like Thoth or Horus. It is not probable that all the nomes were mentioned, there was not room enough to engrave them all, but this procession is meant to show that all the districts and provinces of the land had representatives at the festival which commemorated the accession of Osorkon to the throne. After the prophets carrying the religious emblems of the nomes came the , who in this case may have been the governors of the nomes, who were both civil and military officers.

After having rested on the platform, and turned to the four points of the horizon, Osorkon resumes his march (pl. i. 1, 2, 5), the procession moves on; "the king marches in order to rest in the pavilion of the *Sed*-festival; the Kherheb when he goes towards the pavilion of the *Sed*-festival reads . . ." Unfortunately this part of the ceremony is nearly destroyed, and we must reconstruct the scene from the analogy with the preceding one. Before the king marches again Apuat of the South carried by six bearers. Close to him were two priests dressed with panther skins, before the bearers two priests with long robes, and headed by the "divine mother of Sioot." Behind, came again the prophets, the last of whom has the emblem of Khonsu. In all this there is no difference from what we saw at the departure. But the part of the procession which precedes Apuat, and which is on the lower part, is different (pl. i. 4, 5, 6); it seems to contain a selection of priests and of civil officers, as if to show that both classes were present, but that there was no room to include them all in the sculpture. We have first the  *neter*, whom I called the high priest of Bubastis. He is followed by the  which Brugsch[4] translates the "musicians," those who beat instruments like drums or cymbals. But here, as well as in a representation at Denderah,[5] we do not see the   holding any instrument. They appear with their hands raised, which they probably clap against each other in singing. We shall see them again behind the drum-beater (pl. xi.). Here they precede the men who are shouting uninterruptedly, "On the ground, on the ground!" Next comes a *semer*, or "friend," a  *mer per-uer*, lit. "the great overseer of a house," the head of the farms or the land agent; after him a priest who had a very high rank, and who occurs repeatedly; he is called  *gens*. I should say that the two "chamberlains" and the *amkhent* who follow him are his own attendants, his train. The procession ends with two high priests, the  who was the high priest of Heliopolis, and the *sati* or *usheb*,[6] the high priest of Coptos, where Horus *Khem* was worshipped, and of Panopolis, where there was a temple of the same god under another form.

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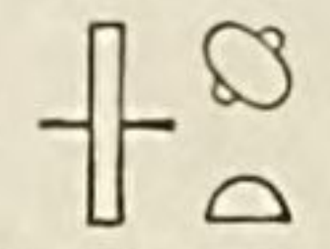
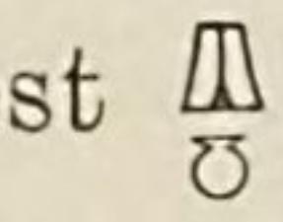
[4] Dict. Suppl. p. 1127, 1374.

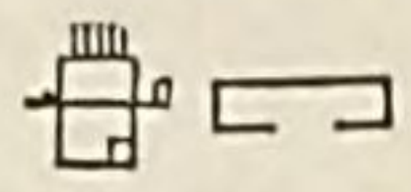
[5] Mariette, Dend. i. pl. 75.

[6] Brugsch, Dict. Géog. pp. 1361, 1374; Egyptol. p. 281; J. De Rougé, Rev. Arch., Deux. Sér. vol. xii. 334, xv. 338.

Above the prophets are a series of emblems of divinities and the remains of three sitting gods, "the Spirits of *Pe* (the South)." It is not impossible that this is meant to represent the ornamentation of the basement of the pavilion, which is engraved above, and which is the goal of the march of the procession.

The pavilion is more than half destroyed (pl. i. 1), and it is much to be regretted that we have lost not only the representation of the building, but of nearly the whole of the ceremony which took place when the king had reached it. The pavilion is supported by four columns with lotus capitals, the cornice is ornamented with a row of asps wearing two plumes. The king himself is in the attitude of Osiris, and before him is the kind of spotted skin which belongs to the king of the Lower World. It is called here  "he who is in his bandages"; we shall find it below in the series of gods. Behind the king are divinities of the two parts of Egypt, the goddesses Uot'i and Nekheb, and Horus and Set. Before Osorkon, at the top of the staircase leading to the pavilion is the priest  *gens*, who perhaps speaks the words engraved above his head, and now broken off except the name of Amon, and the words ". . . living of thy father;" it was probably some sentence about his occupying the throne of his father. Just as when he was on the platform, three priests come up to him, bearing the standard of Amon, of Tum, and the *Ka*, the double of the king. The first *Kherheb* also speaks on this occasion; he says: ". . . I raise the king . . ." Four women, probably the queen and her daughters, stand by; another is kneeling, she may be a priestess.

Here the first part of the ceremony seems to end. Osorkon is sitting in the pavilion of the *Sed*-festival, the part which refers especially to his coronation, to his coming to the throne, is over. On this side of the doorway we shall no longer see Osorkon wearing the double diadem; he will now begin the ceremonies which are specially connected with the South, with Upper Egypt, and he will always wear the diadem of the South.

The three different episodes of the ceremony which we have studied are also found at Soleb,[7] but in an abridged form, and with slight differences. The place on which the king stops and rests is not a platform, it is a special chamber called  the "abode," like what we see on pl. iv. The departure is indicated by the words spoken to the king, who wears the crown of Lower Egypt, and who is standing with his queen: "Come and rest in thy abode." Before him is the procession of Apuat of the South, with the priests carrying standards, and the "holy mother" of Sioot. The trains of priests and attendants were sculptured below, but they are nearly erased, except the lower part of the body and the feet. A second time the king appears with the queen, and the text says: "The resting of the king in the abode, when he is going towards the pavilion."

The next scene represents the pavilion, on each side of which is a canopy covering a throne, of nearly the same form as that on which Osorkon is sitting when he is blessed by the gods. Over the throne, on tablets in the form of shields, are the names of six gods. I consider these canopies as indicating that a ceremony analogous to that of the platform has taken place. As for the pavilion, the contents of it cannot be seen, except the tail of an asp, a hawk, and a bull. At Soleb was celebrated the ceremony of lighting a lamp, which is not mentioned at Bubastis, and in which the "holy mother" took part. The long text which accompanies it, is too fragmentary to be translated.

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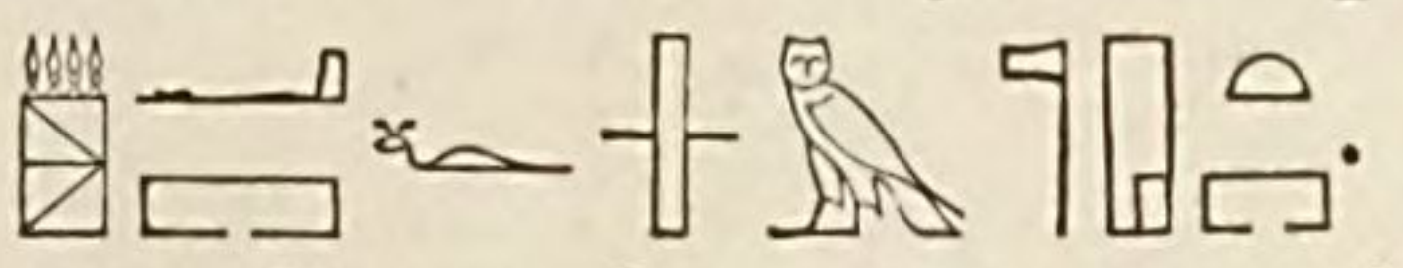
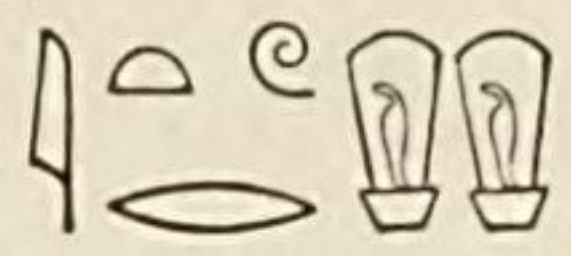
[7] Leps., Denkm. iii. 85.

THE RISING OF THE GOD, AND THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINITIES.

AFTER the preceding scenes, we turn an angle, and we begin to follow a long wall on the southern side. The first portion of this wall for a length of about seven feet is slightly projecting, as if it were a doorpost, on which are sculptured the following scenes, beginning as usual from below (pl. iv. *bis*, 14, 15). "The resting of the king in the abode, when he goes to perform the rites in . . ." He is standing with Bast before him. As for the abode, we see as usual the representation of its door. We must conclude from what we see in other temples, that the abode of the king was part of that of the god,[8] . I should say it was a small wooden construction, possibly erected in the festival hall only for this occasion, and which was not one of the chambers of the temple. Here, as in nearly all the scenes of this part of the wall, Osorkon is accompanied by his queen. At Soleb[9] this scene, which is so short here, is divided into two parts; the departure of the king, and his arrival in the abode followed by the queen and her daughters.

We do not know anything of what was immediately above; but higher still we come to the scenes of offerings to the gods who are present at the festival (pl. iv. *bis*, 13): "The offering of all things good and pure made by King Osorkon to all the gods of the *atur* of the north." The same is said of the *atur* of the south. It begins with "the burning of frankincense to all the gods and goddesses who are at the *Sed*-festival." Rameses III. tells us in his papyrus, that for his festival the gods of the north and of the south were assembled. It is the same with Osorkon; all the gods are supposed to come to witness the solemnity, and we shall see them further represented. each of them in his shrine.

The gods of the north and of the south belong to the two religious divisions of Egypt, called  *atur*.[1] The determinative sign twice repeated, which follows the word *atur*, is a serpent in a kind of shrine. In other cases we find two shrines of different forms.[2] One of them, which we see in the two upper lines of pl. viii., has the usual form of sanctuaries; the other, which has been preserved here (No. 12), has the form of a coffin. This last form is of frequent occurrence wherever the shrine is said to be secret or mysterious. Here, however, it is simply meant to distinguish the gods of Lower Egypt. Apparently the engraver wished to show that the offerings were made to all the gods, but as he could not repeat twice over the whole series which we shall see further, he only represented the two *atur*, the two shrines containing a serpent, and one of the gods of each division, in order to fill up the blank space. The southern division is quite destroyed; we have only the northern with the god Anubis, "the lord of light, the lord of the sky. He gives (to the king) all life and happiness, and all health." Anubis was worshipped in several places of Lower Egypt.

Brugsch has sometimes considered the division in two *atur* as meaning east and west. In this case, as in many others, there can be no doubt as to its being north and south.[3] It is said distinctly that the offerings are made to the *atur* of the south and of the north, and above we see the prophets of the divinities who also represent north and south, the "spirits of *Pe*, and of *Khen*." The prophets of the *atur* and of the spirits all wear panther skins, and hold between their hands a small vase for libations. The inscription which runs along the shrines, and which is broken at the top, reads thus: ". . . the spirits of Pe and Khen, and of the *atur* of south and north (give) millions of years to the king, User-ma-ra sotep en Amen (Osorkon's II.'s coronation name), and periods of thirty years in great number."

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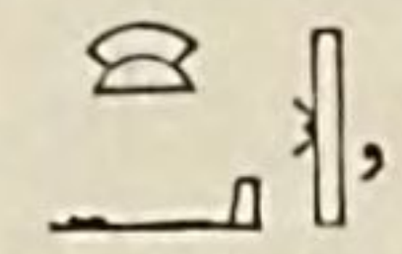
[8] Leps., Denkm. iii. 159.

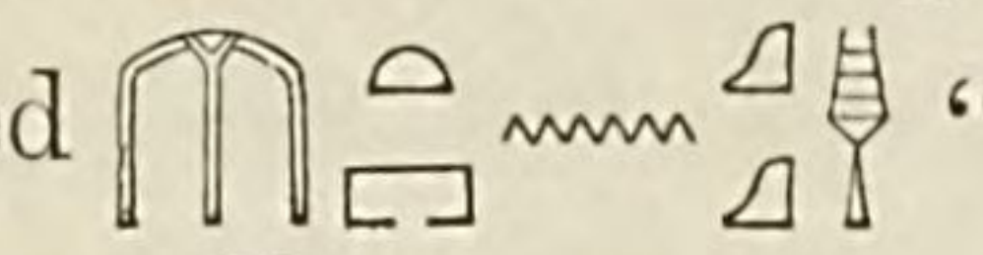
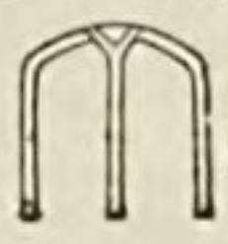
[9] Leps., Denkm. iii. 86.

[1] Brugsch, Dict. p. 143.

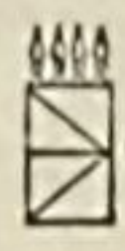
[2] Brugsch, *l.c.* p. 144.

[3] Brugsch, Dict. Géog. p. 540; Naville, Mythe d'Horus, pl. xix. 3.

The festival, as we read in the dated inscription, is in honour of Amon; and as the principal act of every festival is the rising or the appearing of the god , it is natural that Osorkon should cause it to take place. That is what we see in the scene above (pl. iv. 1, 2, 4), which is found also at Soleb with some differences. The ceremony is called, "The appearing (of the king) in the hall of eating,[4] in order to cause the rising of the majesty of this venerable god, Amon-Ra, the lord of the throne of the two lands, and his resting in his place in the hall of the *Sed*-festival." This time the king is alone; perhaps it was forbidden to the queen and to his daughters to follow him into the hall out of which the god Amon is to rise. However, his family is not very far off, they are at the door of the hall. We have seen his daughters twice before; here for the first time we are acquainted with their names. The three daughters of Karoama are called, *Tashakheper*, the first-born, *Karoama*, like her mother, and *Armer*.

The place out of which the king is to bring forth Amon is called  "the hall of eating." The word , a covering supported by a single pole, may sometimes indicate a tent. In this case, if it was the same at Bubastis as we see it at Soleb, it was a wooden shrine or pavilion, containing the image of the god, and of sufficient size to allow the king to go in and to stand before the god. This singular name, "the hall of eating," comes probably from the fact that there the offerings of food were brought to the god, who was considered as eating them. These offerings were numerous and of various sorts; they consisted of bread, cakes, vegetables, meat, and fowls.

The representation of Bubastis is certainly much abridged. The hall of eating is but imperfectly indicated, and we do not see the god who was to rise out of it. This time Soleb is more complete. In a pavilion is the god *Khnum* in the form of a ram, standing on a pedestal. Over him are written the following words: "The bringing (lit. the drawing) of Khnum into the hall of eating. Khnum in the hall of eating gives life, happiness, health and joy to him (the king)." Before the king is Amenophis offering frankincense, and several priests, the magicians with one hand raised backwards worshipping the god, and others whose names are more or less destroyed, such as *the first friend*, and several *sem*, who are attendants of a lower order like the *amkhent*. Evidently this is the preparatory act, which Osorkon may have performed before entering the hall of eating. We shall now see the rising of the god.

We have already considered the contents of pl. vi., the historical inscription explaining the nature of the festival, and giving its date. We are not quite certain of the place of this inscription on the wall B, to which it undoubtedly belonged. It is probable that it was in the lower part of the wall, not on the basement, somewhat higher, so that it could be looked at and read easily by those who had the knowledge of the holy writing. It is possible that it describes the first act of the festival, the very beginning of the ceremony; for it is said that the king is borne on his throne, and is going towards the abode . We have already seen the king staying in an abode before appearing in the house of eating. Probably the reason why this scene is not placed where it should be,

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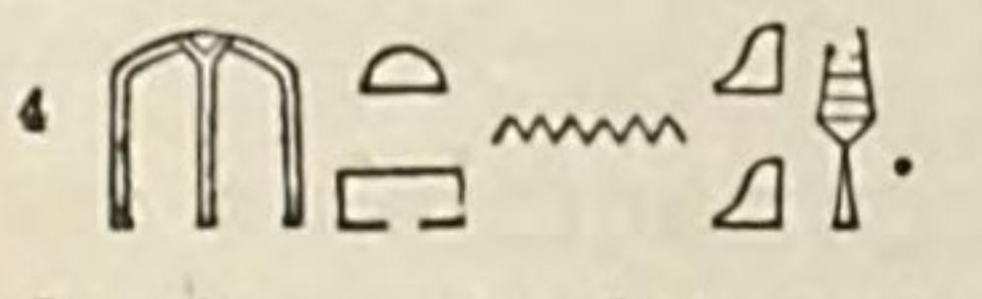
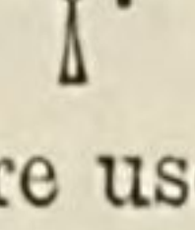
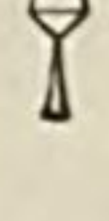
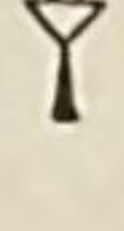
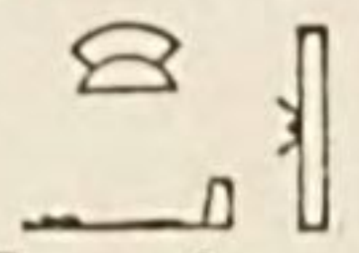
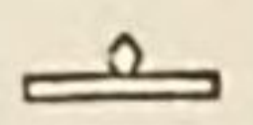
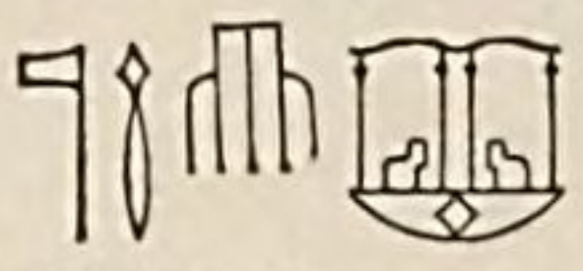
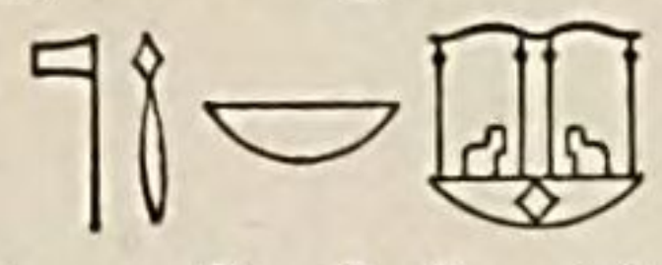
[4] . The inscription is very distinct, and gives as determinative the sign . All over the inscriptions of the festival  and  are used indifferently the one for the other.

following the chronological order, is because this is the central point of the whole festival. The apotheosis of himself, the putting himself among the gods, is always one of the chief objects of a Pharaoh, whoever is the god in whose honour he celebrates a festival. It was the moment above all others in which he was most exalted, when, holding the emblems of Osiris, and in the attitude of the king of the Lower World, he was carried by six bearers, like the shrine of Amon containing the holy emblem, and when he made his solemn appearance and rose like the god himself. This important picture was too wide to be put on the door-post; it was necessary to engrave it on the great wall. Probably it was the scene for which the engravers chose first the most appropriate space, putting in the other ones afterwards as they could. Besides it is not certain that there was only one abode in the temple. There may have been several of those light constructions erected for this occasion, where the king stood or sat in the different stations of the festival, just as it is the case in some religious ceremonies of our time. We see an abode in the lower part of this wall (pl. ix. 12); it may be that which is meant in the inscription we are commenting on.

The god rises (pl. v.), his shrine or shrines are taken out, carried round the temple to the hypostyle hall, and perhaps to the entrance hall of Osorkon I. The shrine, as usual, is on a boat, the two ends of which bear as ornament the head of the divinity it contains. Amon-Ra, the king of the gods, the *Amonrasonter* of the Greeks, says: "I give thee millions of period of thirty years, all thy years are eternal, when thou sittest on the throne of Horus . . . life and joy." Osorkon and his wife seem to be marching before the boat.

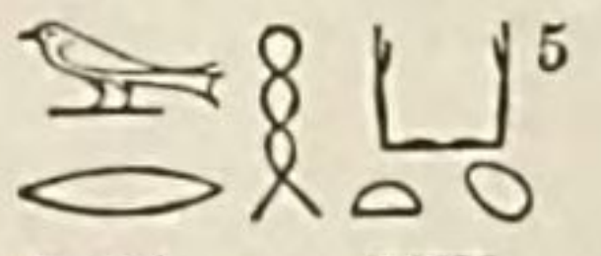
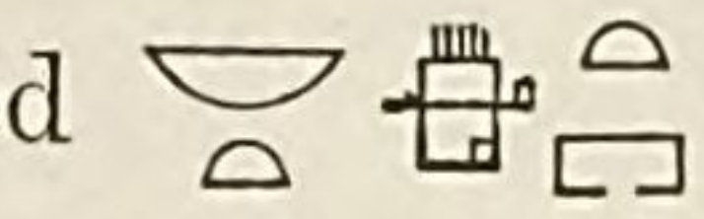
The boat and shrine appear a second time, when Osorkon is sitting on his throne; it may be a second shrine. The inscription is only half preserved (pl. vi.); it refers to the building or rebuilding of the festival hall: "the rising of the Majesty of the venerable god . . . to depart in order to rest in the hall of the *Sed*-festival. . . . . festival. His Majesty renewed (what was ruined) . . . all its walls are in silver gilt, its pillars . . ." A careful study has shown us that the fragments reproduced (pl. xiii.) are to be placed on the right of this inscription. After a gap of which we do not know exactly the length, another text begins, speaking of offerings of antelopes, and giving the names of Osorkon and Karoama (pl. xiii. 4, 5). Just above we see the musicians clapping their hands; they followed a large Apuat carried by his six bearers. Placed thus the god comes immediately before Osorkon in his litter, he belongs to the train of the king, and adds by his presence to the solemnity of the rising of Osorkon. Mariette observes that while the rising  is the beginning of the festival of a god, the resting  is its end. Here we have the rising, the beginning; we do not see the return of the god to the hall out of which he issued. This may have been in the part of the inscription which is destroyed.

When the god and the king rise, the witnesses of this great event are all the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, who meet in Bubastis in order to see the king celebrating the anniversary of his coming to the throne. They are guests invited to a banquet, for offerings in great quantity are put before them, and each of them has a portion of food allotted to him. All these gods are represented in a long series, which is continued on the wall C. The text says: "Let a royal offering be made to the gods in their abodes, to the gods of the festival." The series is divided into several registers (pl. vii., viii., xii.).

The first shows great shrines containing each a god with the left hand raised (pl. vii. and viii.); the figures differ by the heads and by the headdresses. These gods have no proper names, they are always qualified by the words  "the great god who is within the *Sed*-festival," or  "the great god who is lord of the *Sed*-festival," meaning, of course, who is present at the festival. Each of them makes to the king one of the commonplace promises which generally accompany the name of a god; they promise "all life and happiness, all health every day, all vigour, all strength, all abundance, all offerings."

These gods, who are at the head of the procession of the Egyptian pantheon, are the different forms or personifications of three of the chief gods of the land. It begins with Amon, in whose honour the festival is celebrated. He has always a ram's head, sometimes with the *atef* crown, sometimes with a disk, and sometimes without any headdress. After seven shrines of Amon come two of *Sebek*, the god with a crocodile's head. Afterwards, twice, Horus Harmakhis with the double crown, Amon again with a disk, and an indistinct god whose head is destroyed, and who may be Horus or Amon. Whether the engraver intended to convey the idea that Horus and Sebek were as well the gods of the festival as Amon, I cannot say. However, it is certain that in giving them larger sanctuaries, and in not mentioning their names, he wished to assign them a prominent place among the others, as if they had a higher rank; and to grant them special honours.

Below the great gods are the local divinities belonging to the two *atur*, the two religious divisions of Egypt, the upper ones being the gods of Upper Egypt, and the lower ones those of the Delta.

The first whose name can be read, but who comes only second in the list, is *Uerhekt* [5] lit. "the great magician" (pl. vii. 18). We find this name given to several goddesses, Hathor, Isis, Bast. It is applied also to the uræus,[6] which is the divine ornament and the badge of royalty. As the royal power extended over the two parts of the land, this name is often found in the dual form. "The diadems of Ra are on his head, he has united the two *uerhekt*," is said of Seti I.[7] In most cases *Uerhekt* has a lion's head wearing a solar disk; she is then considered as a form of Bast, Sekhet,[8] or Menhit, the goddess of Esneh. More seldom she is seen with a woman's head with two horns, between which are two feathers; she is then styled  "the lady of the palace."[9] Here she wears the headdress of Isis, and has the appearance of this goddess. As we have to do here with local gods, and as she comes close to Osiris, I should consider her as being an Isis of Upper Egypt, of Philæ or Abydos.

Following her comes *Osiris of the West*, the god of Abydos, who is represented as a standing man without any characteristic attribute.

Hathor of Denderah and *Mut* of *Asher*, the consort of Amon, who had a temple at Thebes, could not be distinguished as two different divinities if their names were not written above.

After them comes *Menthu Ra*, the god of *Med*, the present Medamut, east of Thebes, where a few ruins, mostly of Ptolemaic times, are still to be seen.

Harmakhis of *On* is the diurnal form of Tum.

He is followed by *Menthu* of Thebes, and *Khonsu Neferhotep* of Thebes; the latter is one of the important divinities of the city, especially under the twentieth and twenty-first dynasties. Khonsu is evidently a lunar god.

After him, the divinity with a ram's head is *Khnum*, the lord of *Shashotep*, the present village of Shoteb; all the constructions of the old city have disappeared, part only of the necropolis still exists, at the place called Rifeh.

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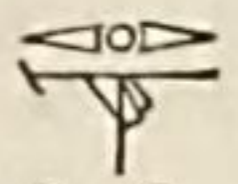
[5] Lanzone, Diz. p. 172.

[6] Schiaparelli, Libro dei Fun., Testo mon. pl. 66.

[7] Mariette, Abyd. i. 34 b.

[8] Leps., Denkm. iii. 210 b.

[9] Leps., Denkm. iii. 189; Champ. Not. p. 364.

The next is the form of Amon which the Greeks have translated *Pan*. He appears as the god of the ninth nome, Panopolis, the present Akhmim.[1] The Egyptian name of the god  is read *Khem* and *Amsi*.

Sebek occurs several times; he was worshipped in Upper Egypt at Ombos, and in the Fayoom.

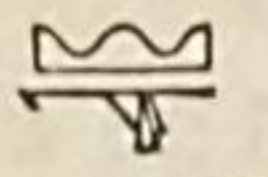
After him the line is much broken, and there are several gaps.

Anubis is followed perhaps by another *Khonsu*, and by two *Horus*, who may be the gods of Edfoo. After another gap comes the god called "*he who is in his bandages*," and it represents the skin which is generally before Osiris when he is sitting as judge of the dead. It is clearly Osiris of Abydos. Then comes an unknown god, *Bentet*, who is represented sitting.

Seb and *Selk* are both well known. The first had a temple in Ombos,[2] the latter gave her name to the Nubian city of Pselcis.

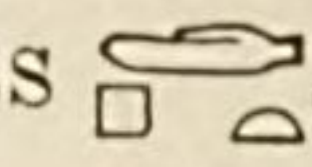
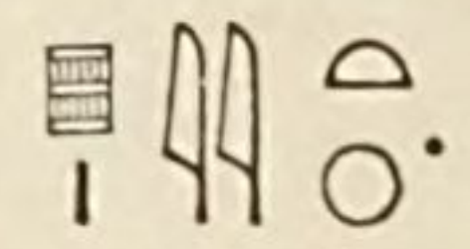
Hormerti (pl. xii.) is generally a god of Lower Egypt, of Athribis, the present Benha, but an inscription teaches us that he is another form of the god of Panopolis who came before.

Nubti is Sebek of Ombos; he is followed by the god of the nineteenth nome of Upper Egypt, Oxyrynchos, the present Behnesa.

The next  is apparently also a nome god, but the reading of his name is uncertain. He is the god of the seventh nome of Lower Egypt, the nome of Metelis; we do not see why he appears among the gods of Upper Egypt. His priest is seen in the processions above, his title goes as far back as the Old Empire.[3]

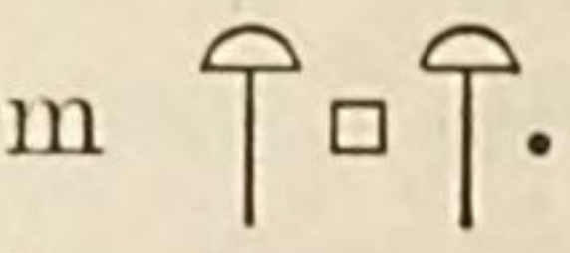
The *South wind* is also a great god who appears in the festival. He is followed by *Set*, the god of the eleventh nome, the chief divinity of which, Khnum residing in the capital Shashotep, has already been mentioned. Several of the divinities have been lost, but we have still traces of Horus and Osiris belonging to Upper Egypt.

We now pass on to the gods of Lower Egypt, who are represented as inhabiting shrines in the form of coffins.

After a gap (pl. vii.) we come to *Phthah*, the god of Memphis, and *Horus* who resides in Letopolis. He is followed by the goddess , who must be taken in connection with another one who will be found farther on . These names taken together or separately seem to indicate the goddess *Buto*.

Merhi[4] is a very rare name. He is found once in Abydos, with a bull's head; probably, like Hapis, he was a form of Osiris.

Sebek is also a god of Lower Egypt. He was worshipped in several nomes of the Delta, especially in the north-western part.

The following name I believe to be read *Hapi*[5] or *Haphap*, it is possibly the same which is found (pl. xii.) under this form . A picture of this god with a man's head, wearing the *atef* crown, is found at Philæ.[6] According to Brugsch,[7] this name refers to the ecliptic. Hapis gave its name to a city which Herodotus located near Marea, not far from Alexandria. *Isis* had many sanctuaries in the Delta; one of the most important was *Heb*, the present Behbeit el-Hagar, not far from Samanoud, the old Sebennytos, where was worshipped the god *Anhur*, Ὀνοῦρις, who follows Isis in the list. *Neith* is the well-known goddess of Sais. As for *Hor Thehen*, it is the first time I have met with this name; it must belong to a divinity of the western part of the Delta. After several erased shrines, Horus comes again, merely called "the great god." He occurs several times as such, with a man's or a hawk's head.

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[1] Lanzone, Diz. p. 935; Brugsch, Dict. Géog. p. 19, 1079.

[2] Champ., Not. p. 234, 238.

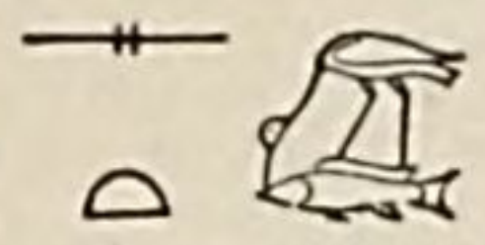
[3] Maspero, Et. Eg. ii. 265.

[4] Lanzone, Diz. p. 305.

[5] Lanzone, *l.c.* p. 537.

[6] Champ., Mon. i. pl. lxxxv.

[7] Dict. Suppl. p. 812; Bergmann, Ewigkeit, p, 24, 44.

After Horus comes a very unusual divinity, a god called  *Set*, and represented with a human head. Coming after Horus, it is natural that we should consider him as the well-known god of this name; but here he has as determinative a fishing bird, and he is said to bring to the king all abundance and all provisions. It is probable that he appears here as a god connected with the sea, and as being the provider of fishes, which in former times, as at present, were the chief source of revenue in certain parts of the land, and which we shall see further to be a very valuable offering.

Thoth, the god of Hermopolis, had a city dedicated to him in the Delta, called by the Greeks Hermopolis parva.

The only god we have not yet considered is called *Hekes*. According to Brugsch,[8] he is the protector of fishermen at the mouth of the river.

Thus Osorkon, who wished to give to his festival the greatest possible magnificence, is considered as inviting to it the principal divinities of Egypt. Whether for this purpose he gathered the emblems of some of them to his capital, we cannot say. It is quite possible. Such journeys made by statues of divinities are not unknown; but certainly if the statues were not brought to Bubastis, the gods were represented by their priests. We noticed before, and we shall notice again, the presence of several high priests who were not at all connected with Bubastis, who belonged to different provinces of Upper or Lower Egypt, and who had been summoned there for the festival. It was a usual custom with the Egyptian kings. For all the important ceremonies, especially those which were connected with a great event, or with the issuing of a solemn decree, they would call together the priests from the different parts of the country, and also some civil officials. It was the best way of making the decree known everywhere. Thus we see in the inscription of Canopus, that all the priests of the two religious divisions of the land met in that city, on the fifth day of the Macedonian month Dios, in order to celebrate the birthday of the king, and to hear what was being done in regard to the reform of the calendar.

As far as I can judge, below the gods must be placed a representation which at present is unique of its kind (pl. ix.) We see the king burning frankincense before a series of emblems which unfortunately are partly destroyed. The first of them is *Apuat* of the south, the lord of the two lands. We saw before that, according to Brugsch's view, he is the emblem of the winter solstice. On the pillar supporting the emblem are twelve walking jackals, which, considering the sense attached to the principal emblem, it is natural to interpret as meaning the twelve months. After this is another jackal, also on a pillar round which two serpents are entwined. The inscription which accompanies it is very obscure. Afterwards comes a wooden pole divided into three at the top, which must be supposed to be raised at the end of an avenue of eight rams. It is called "the great god who is in the *Sed* festival;" the rest is destroyed. We cannot see whether this emblem belonged to Heliopolis like the other ones, the first of which is "the bull of *On* (Heliopolis), who resides in the great house (the sanctuary of Heliopolis), the chief of all its gods." After him "the *heb* of *On*," a composite emblem of the bull which comes before, and of the *On* which comes after. And next "the *On* of *On* in the *Sed* festival," the pillar, the well-known emblem, which is the ideographic sign for the name of the city. "The obelisk which is in *On*, in the holy house, gives periods of thirty years in great number." The next seems to have been also an obelisk; the others are destroyed, but they were said to promise to the king numerous periods of thirty years, and eternity of years.

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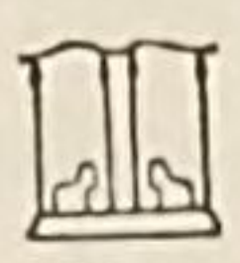
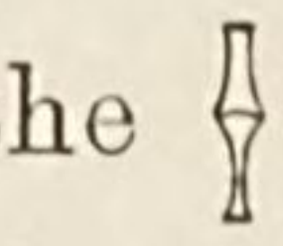
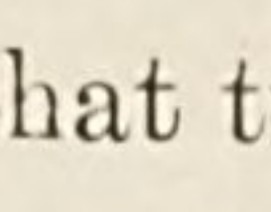
[8] Dict. Géog. p. 479.

It is curious that the king should appear before all these emblems of Heliopolis. It is not probable that they were brought to Bubastis. Perhaps this city had its own collection of Heliopolitan emblems, which being special to the city of Ra, kept their predicate of Heliopolitan, even in other places. Or this may indicate that a *Sed* festival was necessarily accompanied by a ceremony at *On*, which coincided with that of Bubastis or of any city where the *Sed* took place.

All the emblems which we see gathered here are connected with astronomy, or with the measurement of time. I think we may consider them as belonging to the religious observatory of Heliopolis, as being the collection of emblems which had reference to the religious calendar of *On*, and of all the land. We spoke before of Apuat being the god of the solstices. I can give no explanation of the pole which is between the eight rams. As for the bull, we know that there was a sacred bull at Heliopolis, called *Mnevis*, which was held in great reverence, like the Apis at Memphis.[9] The bull was also the emblem of *Nun*, of water as the great fertilizing and fructifying power,[1] and as such it was connected with the inundation, the beginning of which was one of the important dates of the Egyptian calendar. The *heb* of *On* differs from the *On* only in so far as it has the bull's head at the top. We see a bull bearing the sign  in the sculptures of the tomb of a king,[2] where it seems to mean the Great Bear. The *On* is one of the usual emblems of the moon,[3] and Brugsch's researches have proved the existence of a lunar year, in which the dates were given from the days of the moon. The obelisks are connected with the rays of the sun. E. de Rougé[4] first suggested that they might be used as colossal dials. All these facts point towards astronomy and the calendar. As these emblems are the special property of Heliopolis, and as this city is mentioned several times, it shows that it was the place where the questions as to the dates of the festivals were decided. It was the great observatory of Egypt; this reminds us of what Strabo says of the observatories of Eudoxus, situate near the entrance to the city. According to an inscription in Turin, there was another observatory, an *On* in the south, whose temple and priests had the same names as at *On* of the north. We know of a high priest at *On* in the south, who was "*kherheb* knowing the ways of the sky."[5]

It is natural that while making offerings to the gods of astronomy and of the calendar, Osorkon should be accompanied by prophets, the first of whom holds the standard of Thoth, the god of science and calculations. The prophet did not come alone, in order to take part in the ceremony; the high priest of Thoth, the  the *kherp nesti* from Hermopolis,[6] was there also, and had accompanied his god. He is clothed in a long dress like the *neter* of Bubastis, and holds a cane with a knob probably of some precious metal. Curiously that title,  *kherp nesti*, of the high priest of Thoth belonged also to purely civil officers, the governors of the nomes,[7] meaning perhaps that Thoth was their special patron. It must be the same with the man who comes next, for whose presence there it is difficult otherwise to account; he is the "head of the paymasters of the palace," therefore an official of the household of Pharaoh. He also must have considered Thoth as his protector and his master.[8]

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[9] Wilkinson, Manners, iii. p. 306.

[1] Naville, Lit. du Soleil, p. 39; Brugsch, Myth. p. 116.

[2] Brugsch, Thes. p. 125.

[3] Naville, Lit. du Soleil, p. 60.

[4] Mém. sur les Six Prem. Dyn. p. 79.

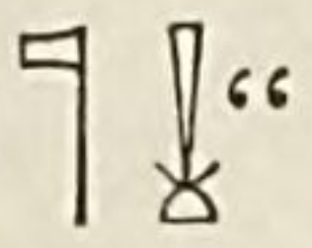
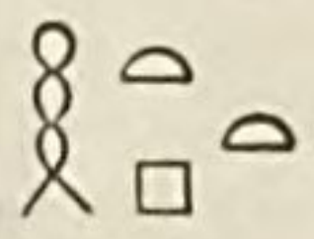
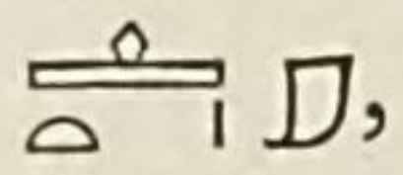
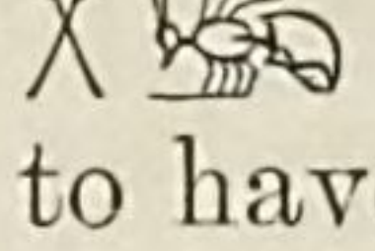
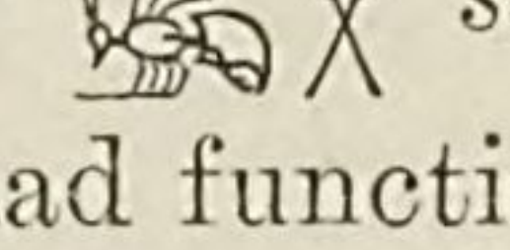
[5] Recueil, vol. iii. p. 126.

[6] Brugsch, Dict. Géog. p. 1361; Maspero, Et. Eg. ii. p. 154.

[7] Brugsch, Egyptol. p. 281.

Below the shrines of the gods there was another row of representations, which is much damaged. We see the remains of an Osirian emblem (pl. viii. 26 and 27) which is met with in several temples, and which consists of a lotus flower on which are two feathers. The whole is the usual headdress of the god *Nefertum*. There was also a goddess speaking, who says of Osorkon: "I suckled him to be King of Egypt, and to be lord as long as the solar disk."

We now pass on to several representations of Osorkon, enclosed in a sanctuary, worshipped by himself, and receiving the homages of a god. One of them is below the emblems of Heliopolis (pl. ix.), the upper half of it only has been preserved. Osorkon is seen with Bast before him and marching (. . .) towards an abode or shrine in which he is standing, and where he seems to be worshipped by the Apuats of the south and of the north, followed by all their prophets. Going out of the abode, we see him marching further, but here the sculpture is entirely destroyed; we have only a piece (No. 13), which undoubtedly belonged to this scene, but which has been placed conjecturally, as we do not know the exact interval which separated it from No. 12. The inscription mentions the magicians, who are speaking or shouting aloud these words: "Hail to the festivals of Horus eternally, hail to the festivals of . . ." Above all this representation, which included several stations of the king, there is a long procession of priests wearing panther skins, and carrying geographical emblems.

The series of shrines of the gods is continued from the wall B to the wall C. It is the same with a long procession (pl. xii. 7) of priests engraved above the shrines, and which is marching, I suppose, towards a shrine containing Osorkon with a clepsydra in his hand (pl. xi. 6), but I am not absolutely certain of this reconstruction. The procession (pl. xii. 7) has a great likeness to those we saw on the wall A. On the lower row we see, as on pl. ii., the *semer*, the "friends," carrying what I suggested was a bag or a rolled carpet, and a man having on his shoulder the leg of an animal. He is called  "the divine brother," a title which occurs farther on. These are followed, as we saw on pl. i., by priests from other nomes; first a priest of the seventh nome of Lower Egypt, the nome of Metelis, then two who cannot be identified; afterwards the high priest of Heliopolis, the high priest of *Khem* at Panopolis, a *sem*, a class of priests common in all temples, but who is here the high priest of Phthah in Memphis. After them comes (pl. viii. 23) a series of men who seem to be of lower rank; they do not wear the panther skin, and I believe they all belong to the class of learned men and scribes of the temple. They begin with two called  or *hetep*. This word may be the phonetic spelling of , which means the metal stylus for engraving; and these men might therefore be the "engravers," as they are followed by the scribes of the school of sacred writers, and by the magicians. Among them occurs twice the  or  *sa ket* or *ket sa*, who seems to have had functions analogous to those of the *kherheb*.

The second row is half destroyed, but we may easily restore it, as we have had it twice already. It consists of the train of *Apuat* of the south (pl. xii. 7). The "holy mother" opens the way, behind her march two prophets; then comes the emblem carried by six bearers, and the *kherheb* with a roll in his hand is standing before the king. Before the holy mother we see the foot of a thick pole; I believe it is the front column of the shrine containing Osorkon, in which stood also a few priests, and possibly the emblem of a god (pl. xi. 6). The king at first sight seems to be offering the clepsydra to a divinity which is destroyed, but I think it may be the contrary; the clepsydra may be offered to him by the priest who stands behind him, and who is represented above with empty hands. The text reads: "The king stretches his hand towards the *sem*," it may be "seizes it from the *sem*." The offering of the clepsydra is one of the most frequent in these inscriptions; it certainly had some reference to the astronomical meaning of the festival and to its coincidence with a date in the calendar. Here it is not the god only to whom it is offered, it is the king who is the god, and who raises it in his hands in the presence of a numerous train of priests.

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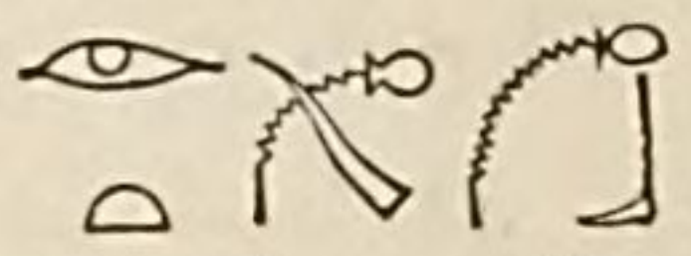
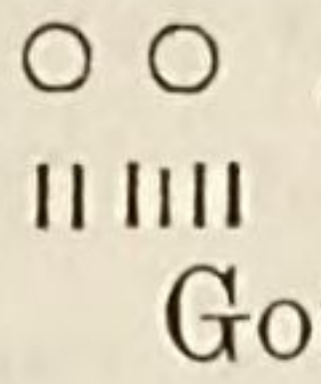
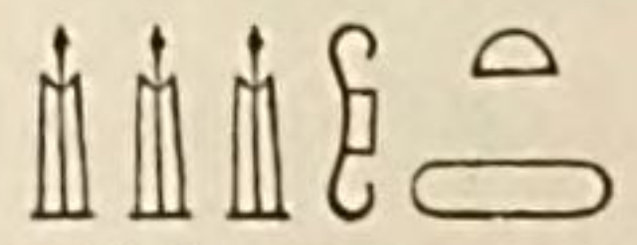
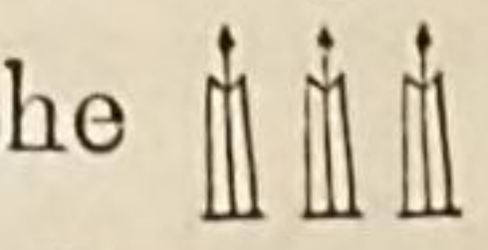
[8] On plate ix. has been put a series of blocks (1—6), the exact place of which is not known, but which probably were at the top of the wall. They represent a march towards a platform which had a staircase on both sides. In the middle of the wall supporting it there was something which has disappeared, but towards which the figures are converging. We see there the "Spirits of *Pe* and *Khen*," the two parts of Egypt represented by two cows, and various religious emblems.

Behind the shrine we find a curious scene. Osorkon standing, is pouring water on the hands of six priests; for the lower ones the water comes out of his hands, for the upper ones a stream of water is represented as running from behind him and falling on the priests. Between their hands we see a vase and lines which are an abridged way of representing the water, which is supposed to come either from Osorkon's hands or from the stream. The only explanation which I can give, is that it is intended to mean a spring or a fountain which was somewhere in the temple. Whether there was a statue of Osorkon over it, or whether he caused the fountain to be constructed when he rebuilt the festival hall, I cannot say; but here he is considered as the source from which the water is derived, as the power which causes it to flow. Each of the six priests is to come four times, probably four times a day, and to fill his vase twice, or to make two purifications each time. That is how I understand this text, which is repeated several times:   "making purifications twice four times."

Going higher up, we again find processions beginning as we saw before, with the so-called musicians preceding a large drum beaten by a man, and the men shouting, "On the ground! On the ground!" [9] The order is executed, for just above we see twelve men lying down quite flat, "smelling the ground." Behind them stands a man called "*Bati*," who seems to command them, and who raises in his hand a kind of double hoop, which must be some mystical emblem. On the third row we for the first time come across men who occur repeatedly on the northern wall, the  the Nubians, or, according to Brugsch's view,[1] the Troglodytes, the inhabitants of the mountainous regions between the Nile and the Red Sea. They are often quoted with the negroes; for instance in this passage: "The Troglodytes bring their tribute, consisting of all the products of the land of the negroes." Whether they were all negroes we cannot say, certainly they were of black colour, and their name applies to a vast region including several negro populations. Thus we see that Osorkon brought to his festival men from the Upper Nile. They are not the only specimens of African races; we have further the strange man who is seen pl. xv. 5, and who I believe is a *Uaua*, coming from above Elephantine; the dwarfs also (pl. xx. 5) are products of the south. If the  are negroes, which is highly probable, they are not represented with the negro type; they look

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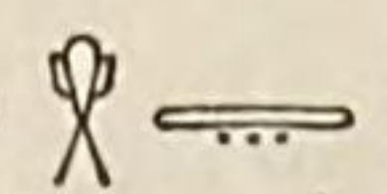
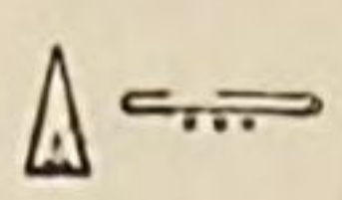
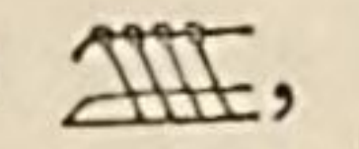
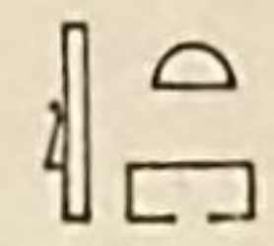
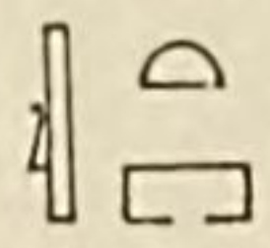
[9]  Brugsch, Dict. Suppl. p. 990, instead of  which we had before.

[1] Brugsch, Völkertafel, p. 48 ff

like genuine Egyptians, although they were of a foreign race. We have here a proof of the dislike which the Egyptians felt towards the negro type, unless they had to represent captives or vassals paying tribute. Here the Nubians are like priests, they are fulfilling a sacred office, therefore their strange type must not be indicated.

There must have been in this respect very strict religious laws and regulations. It is quite possible that in many cases we go astray, not knowing that the representation which we see is merely conventional, and does not give us the real type of the person, which would betray his origin. A striking instance of the errors which we are apt to commit was given by the discovery made in Syria, at Sendjerli, of the great tablet relating the conquests of Esarhaddon, where we see the king Tahraka pictured as a negro. It is clear that in this case it is Esarhaddon's sculpture which is reliable and true. The Assyrian king would not have represented Tahraka as a negro if he had not been so. But the hieroglyphical inscriptions of Tahraka, and his sculptures, not only leave us in absolute ignorance of this fact, but would lead us to consider him as an Egyptian of pure blood.

Why did Osorkon wish that Ethiopians should be present at his festival in the Delta? Had he any special connection with Ethiopia, by birth or by conquest?—These are questions to which we can give no answer; but if Osorkon is the Zerah of the book of Chronicles,[2] it is curious to notice that he is called there Zerah the Ethiopian.

The next station is above, and consists again of a procession in three rows (pl. x.); the lower one being of priests, the two upper ones of men carrying statuettes in the form of mummies, each of which has a different name. I do not know the meaning of this kind of *ushebtis* carried before the king, and of which there is a large number on the top row. Osorkon is standing behind them, and receives , an offering which looks like a lotus-bud. Here the scene takes a funereal character. Behind the king is a shrine where he is standing, and which is called  a common word for a funereal chamber in the inscriptions of the Old Empire. Before him are twelve gods: Ra, Tum, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Horus, Set or Suti, Isis, Nephthys, and his own *ka*, his double. The same shrine is seen at Soleb, where it ends also with the image of Amenophis III. Notwithstanding the name of the shrine, we must not consider this ceremony as funereal; it is not Osorkon's grave. The ceremonies in honour of the gods and of the dead are very similar. Whether offerings were made to the statue of a god or to that of a dead king, the ritual was nearly the same, and probably the religious prescriptions applied to both cases equally.[3] We must not forget that the temple is the abode of the god; it is the place where the god resides, hidden in a shrine protected by high walls, in the obscurity and shade which are pleasant in a hot climate. The same may be said of the grave, it is the abode of the deceased, where, according to Egyptian ideas, he is to remain undisturbed for ever; no wonder that the ceremonies were much alike in both places. The  the funereal house, was only the imitation of a shrine, such as that in which Osorkon is seen standing in the presence of all the great gods of the land, and it had the same name.

THE SECOND ASCENT TO THE PAVILION.

We now go over to the northern side. For some reason which we do not know, it is much more destroyed than the southern. Except quite at the entrance, it is not possible to restore the order in which the ceremonies took place.

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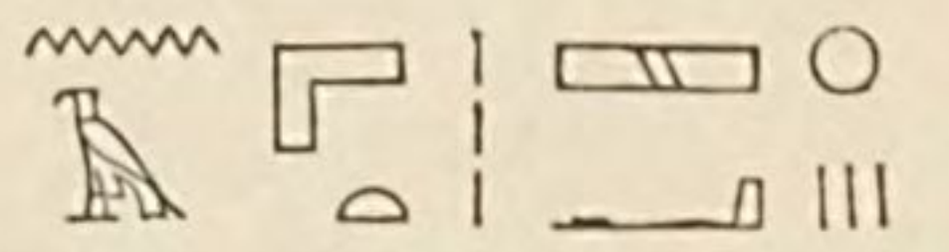
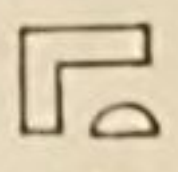
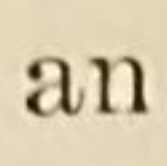
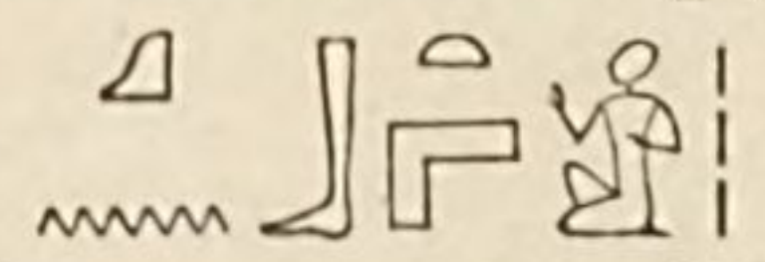
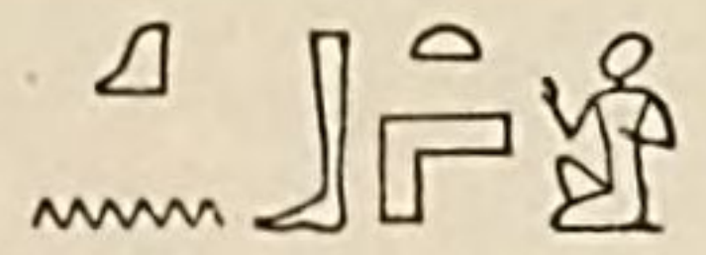
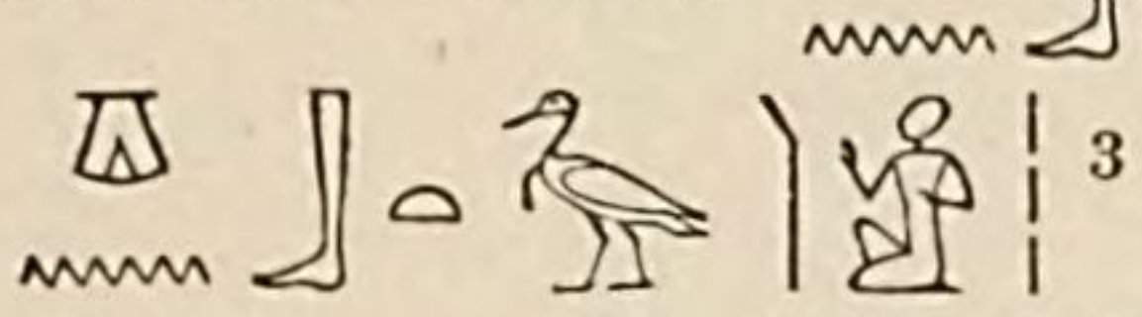
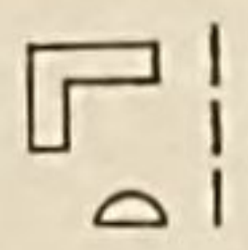
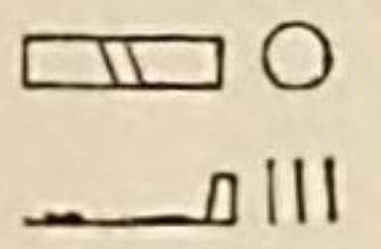
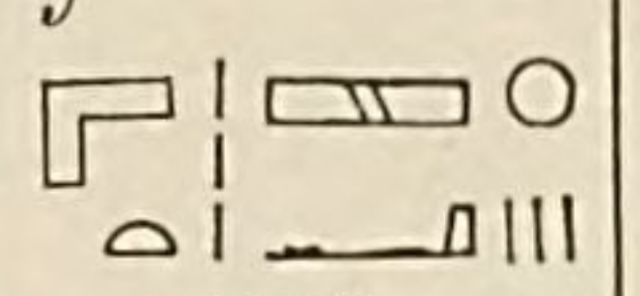
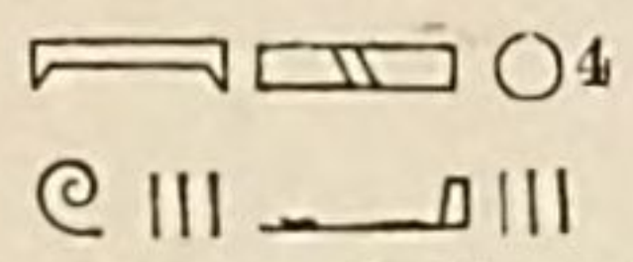
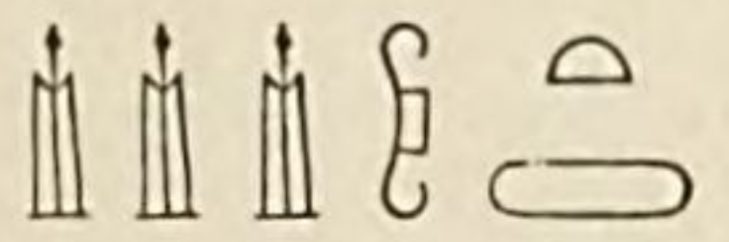
[2] 2 Chron. xiv. 8.

[3] Lemm., Ritualbuch, p. ix.

We begin with the entrance, with the wall D, which was exactly symmetrical to A. The king appears wearing the double diadem (pl. xvi.), and is walking towards the door. Just below (pl. xvii.), we have the goddess *Safekh abui*, with the king, who evidently is making offerings to Bast; on the other side he was accompanied by *Uot'i* (pl. iii.). Above, corresponding to a god whom we supposed to be Thoth, we have Thoth again, following the king, and marking on a stick the years which he gives to him. The god says: "I write for thee the *Sed*-periods of Ra, and the years of Tum." The king offers the *sheb*, the clepsydra, to Bast, who makes promises of various kinds, and particularly this which was quoted before, and which at present cannot be explained satisfactorily: "She gives thee *Sed*-periods, or festivals of twelve years each . . . thou art rising on the throne of Horus . . . thou hast smitten the *Thehennu* . . ." The god who is behind her may be her son, *Horhiken*.

Higher still comes a second offering of the clepsydra (pl. xvi.). The king is standing on a platform, with his queen Karoama; a priest comes behind and offers him the instrument which he afterwards presents "to his mother . . ."; the name is erased, but it can only be *Uot'i*, as it is on the north side, and we had *Nekheb* on the south. Behind, the procession is forming for the ascent towards the pavilion, but it is of a somewhat different character from what we saw opposite. Instead of the learned men from "the school of sacred writers," we see women, "the royal daughters." On the whole, we shall notice that women play a much more important part on this side than on the other; whoever they may be, whether they are the daughters of Osorkon, or the women of the city, (who, according to the inscription of pl. vi., were bound by a tradition dating "from the days of the fathers" to act as priestesses in the temple) or even, as we shall see, foreign women. In the procession we see first the so-called musicians preceding the big drum, and the man beating it. Behind is a man who appears again a little higher up—the reading of his name is doubtful; but here, as on the next occasion, he has to accompany the "royal daughters," who are holding in one hand a sistrum, and in the other the kind of collar which is called *mena*, and which has a symbolical meaning.

What came immediately above is broken off; moreover, in what remains it is not possible to trace a regular order, such as there was in the southern procession towards the pavilion. I believe we have here high dignitaries in three different positions, standing, kneeling, and lying flat on the ground, as we shall see higher up (pl. xv.).

We do not know exactly the distance between the blocks 6 and 7, where was engraved a scene similar to that which is found in the upper part of 8 and 9, but with different men. At the head come the Nubians, the Troglodytes who appear on the southern wall. They are first standing, afterwards kneeling, and lastly lying down. They are not alone, they are with men who have no plumes on their heads like the Troglodytes, and who are called  *Kenbtu shau*, lit. "the neighbours of the sand." This name occurs here for the first time. The word  has several senses. According to Brugsch,[1] it means first "the side," therefore a  is an "*ad latus*, a help, a servant," and in the temple the  are the "mass of attendants of lower order."[2] But the eminent German Egyptologist recognizes also in this word the Semitic جنوب "south wind," and he considers the word  as another form of [3] which means "the Southerners, the inhabitants of the region south of Egypt." The expression we have here   would thus mean: "the Southerners of the sand," the inhabitants of the southern desert. This explanation would apply remarkably well in this case. The word  is formed like [4] *Herushau,* "those who are on the sand," the nomads of the desert; but this last expression has ceased to apply to all nomads in general, all inhabitants of the desert wherever it is. It refers only to the nomads coming from the east, from the Sinaitic peninsula, or even Mesopotamia. The name *Herushau* could therefore not be used in speaking of the black nomads from the south, who are styled *Kenbtu shau.* We saw before that the  were the Troglodytes, the inhabitants of the mountainous region between the Nile and the Red Sea. It is natural that with them we should find the inhabitants of the plain of the Ethiopian desert, probably on the western side of the Nile. Thus from all parts of Ethiopia, from the mountain and from the plain, there came men, in order to take part in the festival, to march in the processions, and to lie down before the king, like the Egyptian priests or the higher officials of the country.

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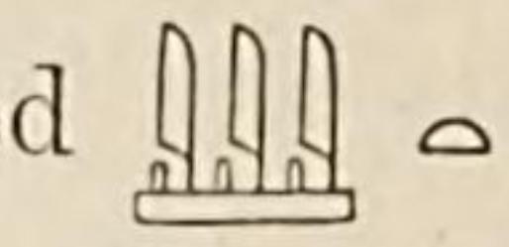
[1] Dict. Suppl. p. 1255.
[2] Brugsch, Egyptol. p. 278.

The text is partly destroyed; but it seems that while they are standing a command is given to them, for we read: "Let the Nubians (sit), let the Southerners of the desert (sit) before the king." Afterwards both of them "smell the ground" before the king, who is not seen, but who perhaps was in one of the representations now destroyed. Underneath we find something, very little of which has been left, and which is difficult to account for. Women are seen with flowers on their heads, and men who seem to be called  "the peasants." It is said of them that "they go about in the fields." I should say that this means that even the common peasants, the labourers of the fields, took part in the festival.

The higher we go, the more difficult it is to understand the sense of the representations. I believe we have the explanation of the three rows above those we just commented upon, in a short text on pl. xiv. 3: "All the lands are at thy disposal; they bring their ewers and pitchers in silver gilt." It was something of this kind, an offering of the industry of subject nations, which was on the second line, where it is written also: "All their ewers are of gold, and their pitchers of silver gilt." I suppose that the men and women who carry them are vassals bringing their tribute.

Immediately above the men lying down (pl. xv. 7) we see a priest wearing a panther skin, who performs a dance, in which he is accompanied by a woman playing on a flute. I cannot say who pronounces these words: "I grant that the king Osorkon may be firmly established like Ra." Before the women are two men kneeling in a curious attitude, and raising one hand. They follow women who raise both hands, as if they were holding a vase or a musical instrument like a drum. Three peasants come towards them, while a long train of women marches in the opposite direction; they all hold the long pitchers which are said to be of silver gilt.

The two upper registers are still less intelligible. On the left we see a procession consisting of two men holding that kind of hoop which we saw before. A man is sitting before a bull, followed by two other men bending forwards as if they were going to stand on their hands. The text above them is that which was quoted before: "All their ewers are of gold, and all their pitchers of silver gilt." On the right is a scene of worship, but we do not see who is the object of it, unless it be a figure with a large head, a beard, and two long locks, holding a kind of mace. Before him are four men looking towards a kneeling priest who seems to be in adoration before them. I cannot translate the text which is above, and I doubt whether it is meant to be Egyptian, and whether it is not supposed to be the language of this strange man. I read: "Give to the tongue of . . . . *uauasu-uaua*." These may be words having a magic effect, such as those which we find in the magic papyri, or they may be the language spoken by those men, a language which possibly the Egyptians did not understand, and which came from abroad, from the Upper Nile, possibly from the land of *Uaua* above Elephantine. This ugly figure is not without likeness to some of the representations of the god *Bes*. It would be interesting to know whether it is really meant to be the portrait of a living being, and also whether it was the type of some extraordinary African race, or whether this person was only an anomaly, a monstrous specimen, which, like other extraordinary phenomena of this kind, was considered as a special manifestation of the divine power.

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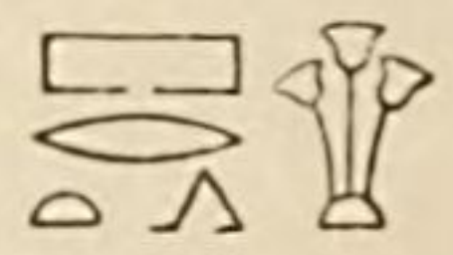
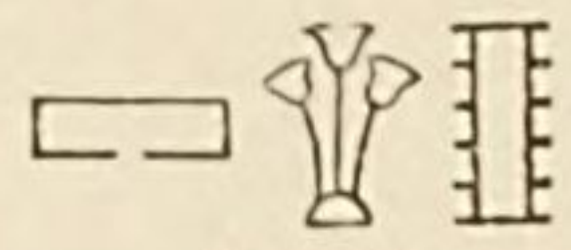
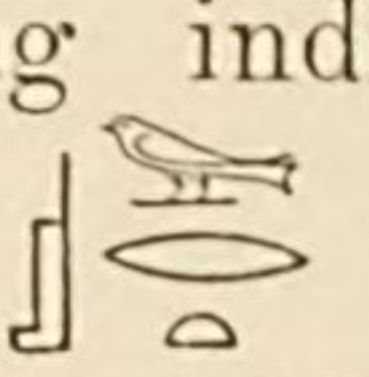
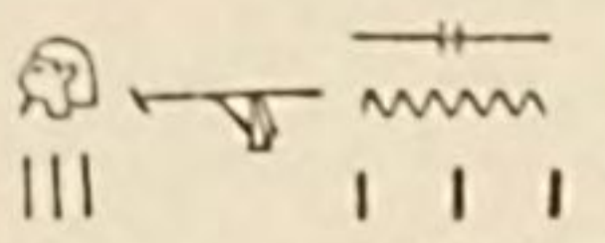
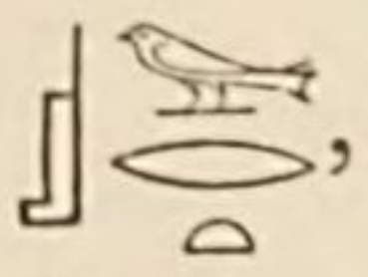
[3] Id., Völkertafel, 37, 43, 45.

[4] Id., Völkertafel, 43, 75; Krall, Zeitschr. 1879, 65.

On the upper row (pl. xiv.) we see only women in pairs, turned towards each other, in various attitudes. It seems to me that they are singing or shouting aloud the words which are above, accompanying them with extraordinary gestures, while the others on the right clap their hands or beat their drums. They cry aloud: "All health like Ra, all health and joy every day, *Sed*-periods in great numbers, like Ra eternally." I should not wonder if they were meant to represent foreign women.[5] The whole scene figured in these three rows reminds us of some customs of the present day, which nearly every traveller has seen on the banks of the Nile. We have there something like the "fantasia" of the women which takes place in a Nubian wedding, and the "Zikr" of the dervishes shouting frantically "Allah, Allah!"

This extraordinary procession accompanies the king in a ceremony which is called  These words might be translated in various ways; they might be "the returning, the retracing his steps," or, what I think more probable, "the appearing on the north," that is, in the  "the house of the north," which we shall see represented further on (pl. xxiii. 8). But here the whole scene is much abridged, there is nothing indicating the house of the north nor the  "the great abode," the shrine towards which he is said to be marching. We see him with one attendant only, without any sign of royalty. Further, his daughters with their two attendants are marching towards the same place as their father. He is supposed to have with him a whole train of gods, for it is said: "The gods on their stands are on the right of the king, near the shrine," but they are not to be seen here. The engraver probably had not room enough, and he only noticed that they were present, but he dispensed with figuring them as well as the shrine. What is meant by the gods on their stands,[6]  are the religious standards (carried or not by priests) such as those represented quite at the top of this wall, where they seem to be an ornament like those we saw on the southern one. I believe that when the king is said to go towards the shrine, or into the shrine , it is in order to worship Tonen, and I should not wonder if it were the king himself who is lying down, "adoring

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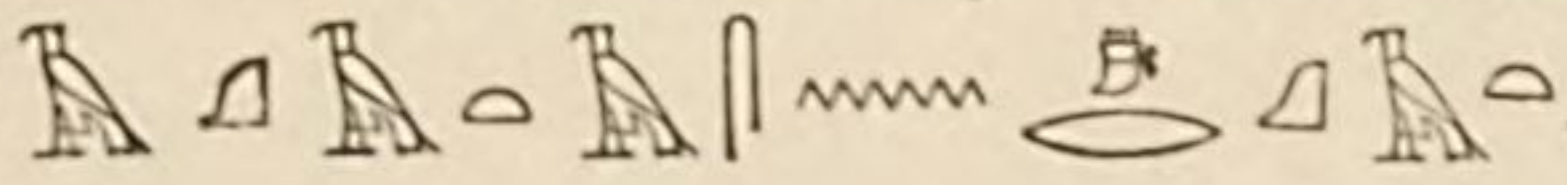
[5] Here also there are some extraordinary words which cannot be explained .

[6] Mar., Abyd. i. pl. 28.

Tonen four times," and exclaiming " Hail to the shrine, hail to the pavilion."

This last word, the pavilion, shows that the adoration to Tonen also takes place on the roof of the temple, where the shrine of the god must have stood. It is clear that in this sculpture we have only a very incomplete description of the ceremony, the greatest part of it is omitted; however, we see again the *am khentu*, the *suten sahu*, the *semeru*, and the *ueru*,[7] all the high dignitaries lying down before the king, while women crowned with flowers repeat: " Hail to the festival, hail, the festival of Tonen takes place," and also these words which indicate the meaning of the ceremony: " Horus rises, he has received the two plumes, he is the king Osorkon living eternally." Horus receiving the two plumes is one of the ways of expressing that he is crowned as king, and therefore here again we find an allusion to the coronation of Osorkon, to his jubilee. Whereas on the southern side it is Amon who is the prevailing divinity, here it is Tonen, the god who above all others is the patron of the period of thirty years, and who gives them in abundance to his son Osorkon. Amon and Tonen are the gods who give the first blessing to the king when he is sitting on the platform (pl. ii.). Osorkon did not separate them in his festival, following in this respect an old tradition; for Rameses III. also said that his *Sed*-festivals were associated with those of Tonen. Whether it was Phthah in whose temple the solemnity of the *Sed* took place, as under Rameses III., or whether it was Amon, as under Osorkon at Bubastis, Tonen could not be forgotten, for it was to him that Osorkon was indebted for a reign of eternal duration.

THE OFFERINGS AND THE SHRINES OF THE NORTH.

The great wall E is nearly a complete blank. Hardly anything of it remains, and the little which has been preserved must be replaced by conjecture. Taking first what was the doorpost, we have (pl. xviii.) a horizontal inscription which related some event having reference to the water and the cultivated land. Over it was a procession larger than the other parts, and of which I consider the block iii. of pl. xxv. as being a part. Osorkon was standing with two rows of fan-bearers behind him; underneath was a train of priests, the 𓊹𓂋 " *neter* of the south," followed by " the holy brothers " and " the prophets." We have noticed already on the other side the 𓊹𓂋 lit. " the god," whom we considered as the high priest of Bubastis; this time it must be another priest of high rank, who had the whole south under his control.

The great block of pl. xiv. had an angle, on the other face of which stood the representation marked 8 on pl. xviii., which has given us the exact places of 7 and 9. We begin here the series of offerings of birds and fishes which we shall consider further where they are more complete. Underneath is one of the various shrines of the north, where Osorkon is sitting wearing the crown of Lower Egypt. We shall see several of this kind, and there must have been many on the wall; they are parallel to those we saw on the south, where Osorkon has the southern diadem. Bast is always with him, looking at him and showing that this festival takes place under her protection, though it is not in her honour. Before him were religious emblems, called *Horshesu*, " the followers of Horus," and a priest whose arm only is left. The words spoken are always more or less enigmatic 𓈎𓇋𓂋𓁶𓂾𓂾𓂾. We know the word 𓁶𓂾𓂾𓂾 *tep retu* as meaning " prescriptions," but here it evidently has another sense. It must mean a locality, either one of the numerous shrines where

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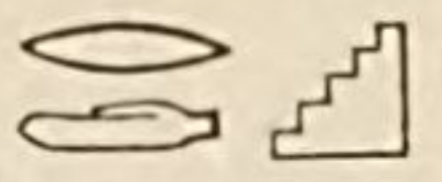
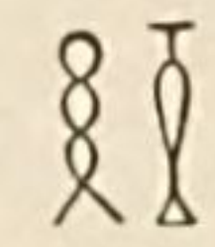
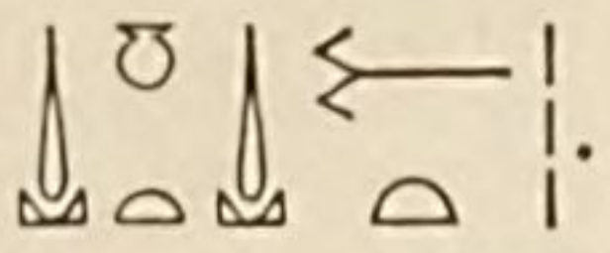
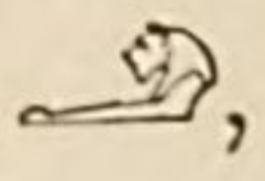
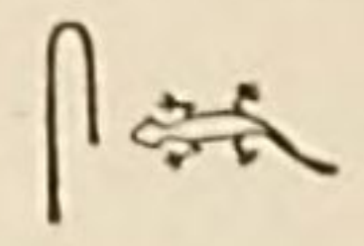
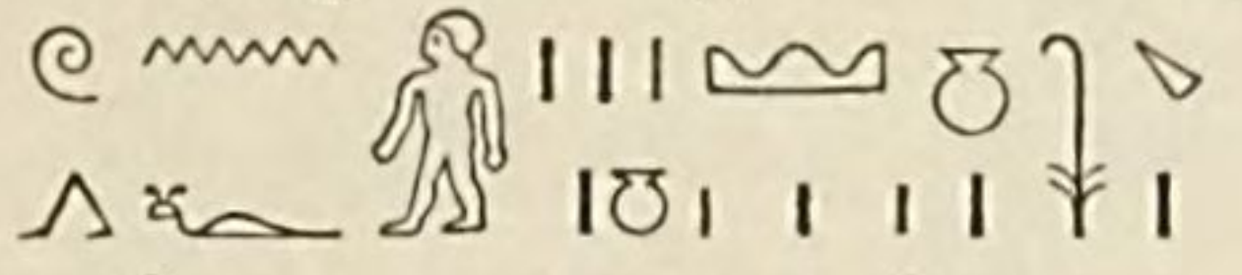
[7] Brugsch, Dict. Suppl. p. 1011.

Osorkon rests, or a platform, or staircase, the word *ret*  meaning a staircase, a flight of steps. I consider *tep retu*, the top of the stairs, as being those shrines to which access is given by a flight of steps, and I shall translate "shrine," a sense which is confirmed by the other instances where the word occurs. We find on this side priests of a different kind from those who appeared on the southern wall. I have placed conjecturally on this wall a block which at first sight seemed to belong to the wall D, but for which I could find no room (pl. xxv. No. vi). It is the repetition of what we saw before, of part of the festival of Tonen; the *am khentu*, the *sahu* are lying down. Somebody says: "Hail (to the festival), hail to Phthah (Tonen)." The sitting priest of pl. xiv., the  *hes*, "the singer," speaks also, but nothing remains of what he says. Above him are the women with lotus flowers, they are called here "singers;" again they repeat, "Hail to the festival, hail, the festival of Phthah Tonen takes place," and the significant words: "Horus rises, he has received the two plumes, he is the king Osorkon."

Over them is a procession of men headed by the . I still adhere to the view which I expressed elsewhere, that they must be considered as judges. The four gods of the cardinal points, who sit in the court over which Osiris is president, are called by this name; but they are judges having a religious character, something like the cadis of the present day.

That is all we can reconstruct of the northern doorpost, whereas the other side contained a great deal more. It is impossible to say why this side has suffered so much in comparison with the other. It may be that in former times the way was shorter from there to the canal on which the blocks were shipped to the villages, where they would be used for oil-presses, millstones, or thresholds. At present, in the neighbouring villages, remains of the great temple of Bast are built in the walls or in shakiyehs, and used for agricultural purposes. I remember having come across Ptolemaic inscriptions in a shakiyeh of the village of Aslooghi, where it had been brought from the sanctuary of Bast. Who knows whether fragments which might give us the key to very important questions for which, at present, we have no solutions, are perhaps hidden in a wall, or used by a fellah woman as a washing-board. It is possible, also, that the blocks of the north were on the top of those of the south, and were carried away sooner. We do not know how the temple was destroyed, probably by digging under the walls, which caused the whole construction to collapse. If the southern wall was destroyed first, and the northern afterwards, so that the blocks fell over the ruins of the other, the people who, during centuries, used the temple as a quarry, would, of course, begin with the upper stones, while the lower ones would be preserved.

Hardly anything remains of the long wall which was symmetrical with the wall B, except a most curious block which, having no clue whatever to its place, I have put in the middle (pl. xx. 5). It contains an interesting picture of dwarfs holding each of them a long cane. One of them seems to have been their chief, their , but their name seems to have been  *sāsh*. This name is well known; it means the "guard, the policeman, the beadle," especially "the police of a temple." Brugsch[8] quotes a representation of Abydos, in which men having this name and armed with sticks precede a train of priests. It is exactly so in this case; they hold long sticks and precede several *kherheb*, who were, perhaps, followed by other priests.

It seems rather strange to us who are accustomed to see in Roman Catholic churches beadles remarkable for their high and imposing stature, to think that in Egyptian temples the police duties were performed by dwarfs. Whether they had special qualities for this office, we cannot say, but certainly they were not Egyptians, they belonged to a southern race. Homer[9] already mentions the pygmies, who had so much to fear from their terrible enemies the cranes. Aristotle,[1] speaking of those birds, says: "The cranes go up as far as the lakes above Egypt, where the Nile originates; there the pygmies are living; and this is not a fable, but pure truth; men and horses are, as they say, of small stature, and live in grottoes." An anonymous Greek geographer, of late epoch, alludes twice to the pygmies who live along the eastern branch of the Nile near its source. The pygmies occur also in the Egyptian inscriptions. Frequently[2] we see dwarfs and deformed persons who lived in the houses of the Egyptian grandees, probably for their amusement. But here such is not the case; they are small but not deformed, and the long stick which they hold indicates men of authority, and not beings like the *moriones* of the Romans, destined to be the laughing-stock of their masters. They belong to a population coming from the south, from the Upper Nile, as the anonymous geographer says. In an inscription of Karnak of Ptolemaic epoch, which is part of a list of nomes, speaking of the nome of Nubia, it is said:  "The dwarfs of the southern countries come to him, bringing their tributes to his treasury."[3]

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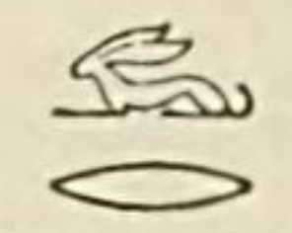
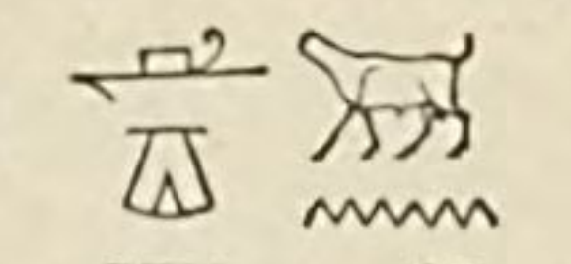
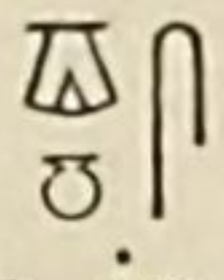
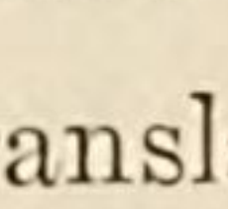
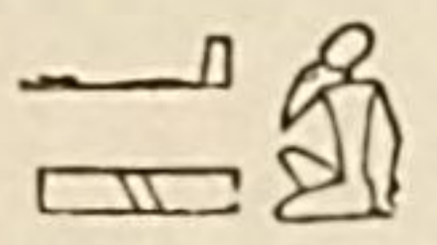
[8] Dict. Suppl. p. 284.

I need not refer to the remarkable confirmation brought to the tradition by the travels of Schweinfurt and Stanley. The ancients knew very well the populations of dwarfs which have been discovered anew by the modern travellers. It is quite possible that they were much nearer Egypt than they are now, and that by degrees they were driven to Central Africa. We have here another instance of Ethiopians brought to the temple by Osorkon. We have seen the Troglodytes, the inhabitants of the Nubian desert, the extraordinary man whom I consider to be a Uaua; now we have the dwarfs, who certainly came from the south, and who, like the others, held a certain rank in the temple. Surely there must have been a reason why Osorkon wished Ethiopians to be present at his festival, and why he allowed them to take part in the ceremonies. It is probable that if he drew from Ethiopia priests and religious attendants, he brought also soldiers from the south. It shows that Osorkon's power may have been greater than was suspected. If he was unfortunate in his wars against his eastern neighbours, it is possible that his empire extended in the south beyond the limits of Egypt Proper. Perhaps, also, in his reign, the Ethiopians began to have more importance; they grew in influence, until their king Piankhi invaded Egypt, and with the twenty-fifth dynasty they became the rulers of the country.

Above the dwarfs are priests who did not occur before, the  "the opener of the mouth," a priest who plays an important part in the funereal ceremonies, who opens the mouth of the deceased with a magical instrument; and another who holds a kind of bag or basket: he is called  "the *ua*, the only one, carrying the *Khen*," which I suppose to be a basket. He will occur again several times. It is not possible to make out anything from the fragments on pl. xx. Osorkon is in a shrine, with Bast before him. Once he is sitting, his throne being on a platform to which access is by a flight of steps; at the top of the staircase before the entrance is the *gens*  (pl. xxiv. 10), with his hook and his knife in his hand. We saw him in a similar position at the entrance of the pavilion on the south side; he seems to be a special attendant and guard to the king, who nearly always has him in his train. Sometimes he carries a fan. Behind the king is the *ua* with his basket, and the "mouth-opener," besides a man called  *āsh.* I consider this sign as being here a variant for  "to cry aloud," and I translate "herald."

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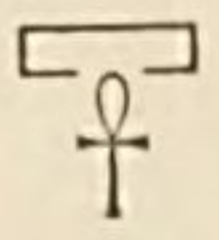
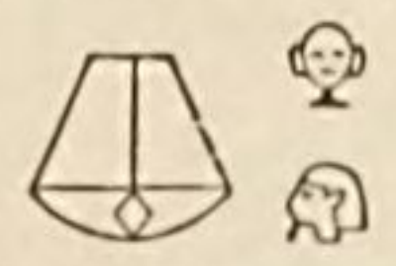
[9] Il. iii. 6.

[1] See Duem., Aeg. Gesch. p. 7.

[2] Wilkinson, Manners, ii. p. 70.

[3] Brugsch, Hungersnoth, p. 141.

Higher came a group of the priests called *kherheb.* We must notice that sometimes they have not their roll of papyrus, and that there are several of them. It is possible that there were classes of *kherheb*, and that they had not all the same rank. Brugsch observes that under the Ptolemies the *kherheb* lost his high position of interpreter of the religious laws, and of regulator of the important ceremonies; and that this name means only the corporation of the "choachytes," of the men who had the charge and management of funerals, what we should call the undertakers. There is nothing of the kind in the temple of Bubastis, but there may have been a hierarchy among them. If they had to pass through the  "the school of sacred writers," some of them already called *kherheb* may have been only disciples. In these inscriptions the important person, "the master of the ceremonies" as we called him, is the  *kherheb her tep*, the head of the *kherheb.* Above the *kherheb* there was another shrine with Osorkon (pl. xix. 4), but nothing of it remains, for the block 3 is probably in a wrong place (cf. pl. xxx). We only see two priests with panther skins, and three others in the attitude of worship. The text written vertically reads: "Seb gives you your fields."[4]

In the following scenes (pl. xix. 1 and 2) Osorkon has gone out of his shrine; he is standing; behind him march the emblems of the gods, and below, his attendants, the first of whom is his favourite *gens* with his fan. Three columns of text which were in front of him are completely destroyed. Further on he is also standing, he has given up the emblems of Osiris, and especially his flail, which, below, his attendants carry for him. He holds a mace, as if he were about to strike his enemies. Before him is a woman in plain dress, the *uer hest.* The word has several meanings, it may be "the well-pleasing," or "the chief of the singers." I suppose it is this last sense which we have to apply in this case. She is one of the priestesses of the temple. The text in front of her mentions two boats, but it is quite destroyed. There were evidently some sacred boats sculptured on this wall; holy shrines were seen carried on the shoulders of priests, like on the wall opposite; traces of one are reproduced on pl. xxv., No. v. To this wall belong also three small fragments collected on pl. xxv. On No. iv. are prophets, one brandishing a feather, and another a stick; besides a man with his two hands on his chest, who, judging from what remains of the text, was shouting aloud. A still smaller fragment (ii.) contains a priest only carrying his basket; it is said of him that he is standing "on the east side of the seat." Another fragment (i.) was near an angle, probably on the wall F, and shows four rows of priests; the upper ones worshipping and lying down on the ground, the others with their heads bent down in a supplicating attitude.

It is much to be regretted that we have lost so much of this wall. We should have found there much information concerning the complicated and intricate ritual of a great solemnity. Such representations are rare in the Pharaonic temples. Before the Ptolemies everything concerning the ceremonies consists chiefly in offerings and commonplace sentences. We have only few descriptions of festivals; for instance, that of Soleb, or the festivals celebrated in honour of Khem by Rameses II. and Rameses III. Even these are given with few details, and do not teach us much as to ritual and the different phases of a great solemnity. We must come down to the Ptolemies to have elaborate descriptions of what takes place at the risings of Horus and Hathor. In this respect the inscription of Bubastis was unqiue. I know of no other temple, before the Greek Kings, having such a detailed narrative of what was done at the celebration of a great religious festival. The loss of a great part of it is all the more to be deplored.

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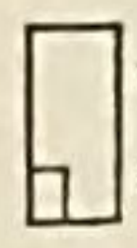
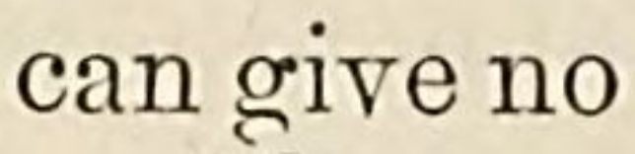
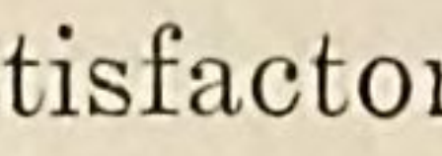
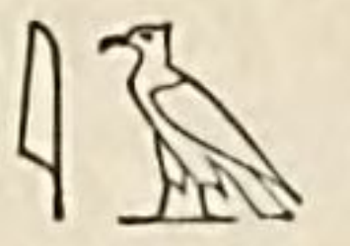
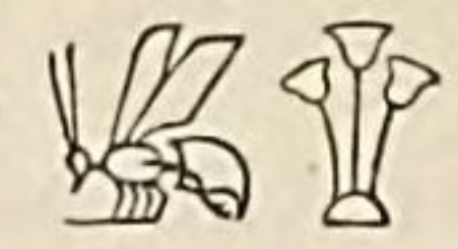
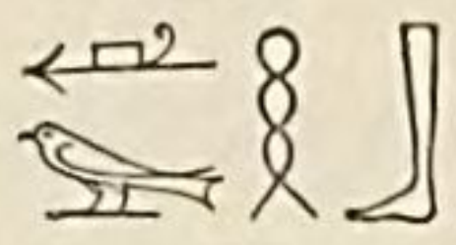
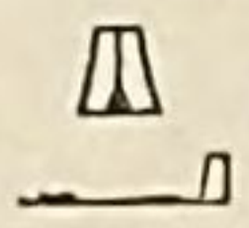
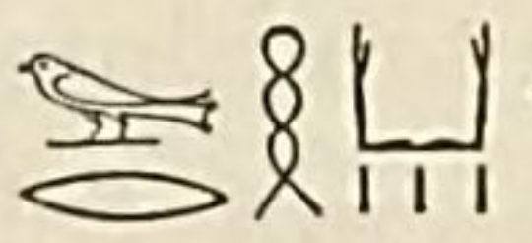
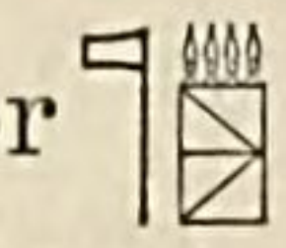
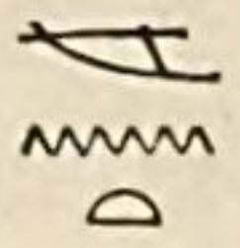
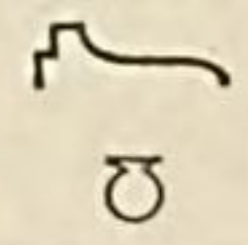
[4] Brugsch, Dict. Suppl. 1322.

On the wall F (pl. xxii.), we see the offerings of birds and fishes which began on the wall E (pl. xviii.). These offerings are represented in a curious way. They consist of six horizontal lines divided into compartments, in each of which a standing man corresponds to six names, two being written above his head, and four under his feet. Beginning from above, we see first the name of a god, Horus, Set, Osiris, *Khentma* (a form of Horus), Isis, Thoth. Below, a line which I omit for the present. Then the vignette of a man standing, holding in his right hand a fish, and in his left a bird, or supporting it while it rests on his head. Under his feet again is the name of a god, Nephthys (written here ), Set, Thoth, as on the upper line; underneath, the name of the kind of bird which is considered as the special property of the god just mentioned, a god again, and the name of a fish. Here we see that each offering, whether it be a bird or a fish, is held to be the property of one definite god. Horus, Thoth, and the other divinities each have their own fishes and their own birds, and these are all brought by Osorkon to his festival. It is a way of indicating that the gods are not mere witnesses of the festival, but that they contribute to it in giving what belongs to them. These offerings, judging from the block No. 3, are handed over to the *kherheb* of the temple.

But what does the second line mean? What are the names inscribed under the upper gods? I can give no satisfactory answer. Some of them, like  or  might mean "honey"; this would induce us to think that they represent substances offered to the gods, like honey, oil, frankincense, wine, milk. Other names, like  or  are plants; as for those like  or  they might be names of priests. These words probably represent objects of daily occurrence, which had another, a common name. But they cannot be identified, owing to the custom of the Egyptians of giving to objects used for religious purposes an enigmatic name, for which we must have the key. For instance,  "the great magician," or  "the divine palace," are both names given to an instrument of iron, used for the ceremony of opening the mouth of the deceased. It must be the same here.

The birds are all water birds, cranes, herons, geese, ducks. Most of them have names which have not yet been found. The pelican is easily recognizable among them, it is called  *hent*. As for the  which Brugsch[5] translates "ostrich," here it is clearly a kind of goose with a long neck. The fishes also have most of them names which occur for the first time. It is curious that among the offerings of living beings there are no domestic animals. These are not offerings coming from the land of Osorkon, from his farms, or his agricultural labourers; they are the product of his amusements, of his hunting and fishing in the marshes of the country. We often see in the tombs of the Middle Empire that the favourite sport of the king or of the grandees was to fish in the marshes or to chase the waterfowl, which were killed with a kind of boomerang. Probably Osorkon, like some of his predecessors, liked that sport; and this representation is perhaps also a way of expressing that all conditions of men living in the neighbourhood partook of the festival. We have seen the peasants, those who "go about in the fields"; here we have the chasseurs and the fishermen, who appear also in the temple.

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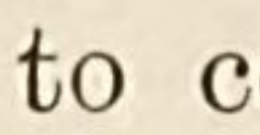
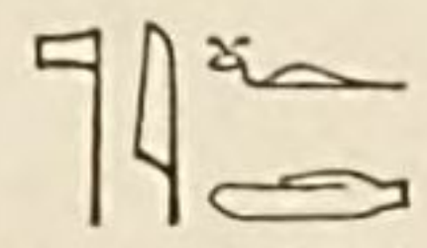
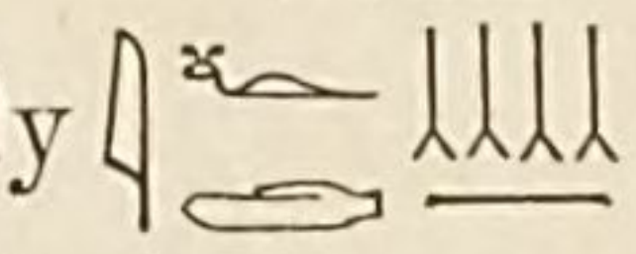
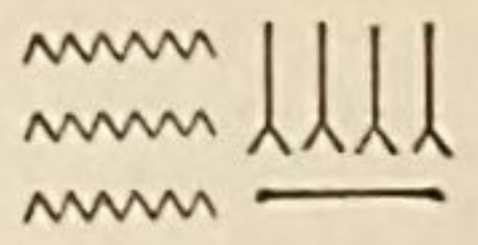
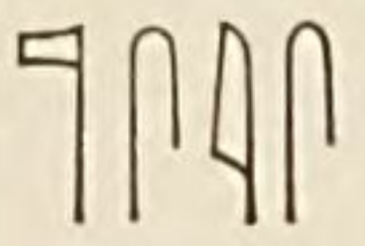
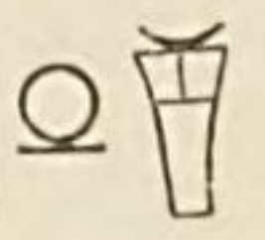
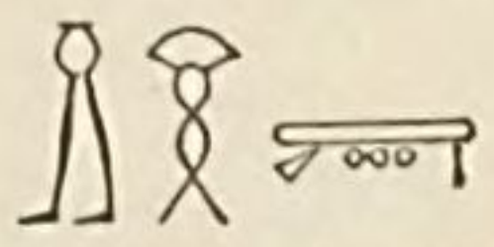
[5] Dict. Suppl. 697.

We have now to consider the last scenes of the festival, which are on the wall F, on the western side of the doorway. As we saw before on the southern wall, some of the scenes which begin on the long wall, turn the angle and are continued on the western side. It is the case, for instance, with the representation which begins on pl. xx. and ends on pl. xxiv., and where we see Osorkon sitting in his shrine, with several kinds of priests behind him. These priests appear again before him (pl. xxiv.). We have again the *ua* carrying his basket, before him two men called *sen*, "the brother," are lying down. Another who is standing is pouring something out of a jar. Further, two men are sitting with a kind of plate or board on their hands. One of them is called *ha* or *sekhem*, the other is the "mouth-opener." It is said that they are sitting, and that "the *tep retu* (the shrine) is on the north." Underneath the same men are standing; they hold each other by the hand, and somebody, perhaps the *sem* who is looking at them, says: "Turn round towards the north." We often see in funeral scenes that a priest was to go round a statue a certain number of times, generally four. Here there is no statue or monument of any kind, and probably the priests perform a kind of religious dance before the king. Evidently dances were an important part of the worship of the Egyptians, as is usual with many African nations.

Higher still we see Osorkon standing in what is called "the house of the north" (pl. xxiii.). Before him are priests and emblems which have occurred already many times. Osorkon seems to be marching towards the shrine, which he reaches in the register above this. Bast is not in the shrine, she is outside, and the priest *sem* acts as door-opener. Before him men running shout: "On the ground, on the ground!" probably to the men bearing maces who come towards them. Underneath are two "royal daughters" saying: "Wait, Kherheb," perhaps while a scene of offering a  (No. 6) takes place. On the upper row we see six men walking towards six poles with a broad base, arranged in a line (No. 5). These six poles have a mystical sense which we do not understand. Among the funeral offerings we often find a line of four which is presented to the deceased; it is called  *neter aft* "the holy four,"[6] or simply  *aft*, "four," or even  "water." Once on a coffin of the eleventh dynasty we find the six poles,[7] and they are called there  *neter sas*, "the holy six." We find also on a coffin of the same epoch "the holy three" and the "holy four." It is quite impossible at present to assign a meaning to this extraordinary offering, which in this case is not called the holy six, but  "the holy circle of Bast"  "brought and laid on the ground." What has Bast to do with the number six? and how does this number constitute her circle, or her orbit? has it any reference to astronomy?—are questions to which we can give no answer.

In the two last scenes (pl. xxi.) Osorkon is sitting in shrines, raised on platforms; he has always the emblems of Osiris, he is the god to whom worship is offered. Amon, to whom the festival seemed at first to be dedicated, does not now appear; the apotheosis of the sovereign is complete. I do not think that Osorkon remains in the left shrine; the priests seem to go away from it, and the text may be translated "to depart from the *tep ret*," from the shrine where he is sitting. The *sem* who has gone down the stairs, the prophets with the holy emblems, the *kherheb*, all seem to be marching towards the next shrine, where Osorkon will sit again. It is called the "house of putting the fans in their place." The fan-bearers go up the stairs towards the shrine, where possibly they leave them. The fans were a tribute of the negroes,[8] and it may be that the fan-bearers of Osorkon were also Ethiopians. The fans always accompany the rising of a god, or of a king. We see them with the boats containing the holy emblems, when they are carried out on a festival day,[9] or with the king when he is sitting on his litter in the sight of his conquered enemies,[1] or when he is supposed to rise out of his shrine in the temple. It is rather an exception that Osorkon should appear carried on his litter without being followed by fan-bearers. The reason of it may be want of space, which we saw before compelled the engravers to simplify several of the scenes of the festival. As it is, the putting away of the fans, the storing them in a shrine, seems to indicate that the rising is over, and that the festival is at an end.

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[6] Leps., Aelt. Texte, pl. 36; Schiaparelli, Libro dei fun. Testo hier., pl. 21.

[7] Leps., *l. c.* pl. 6, 7.

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[8] Leps., Denkm. iii., 117.

[9] Id. 180, 189, 235.

[1] Id. 100, 121, 139.

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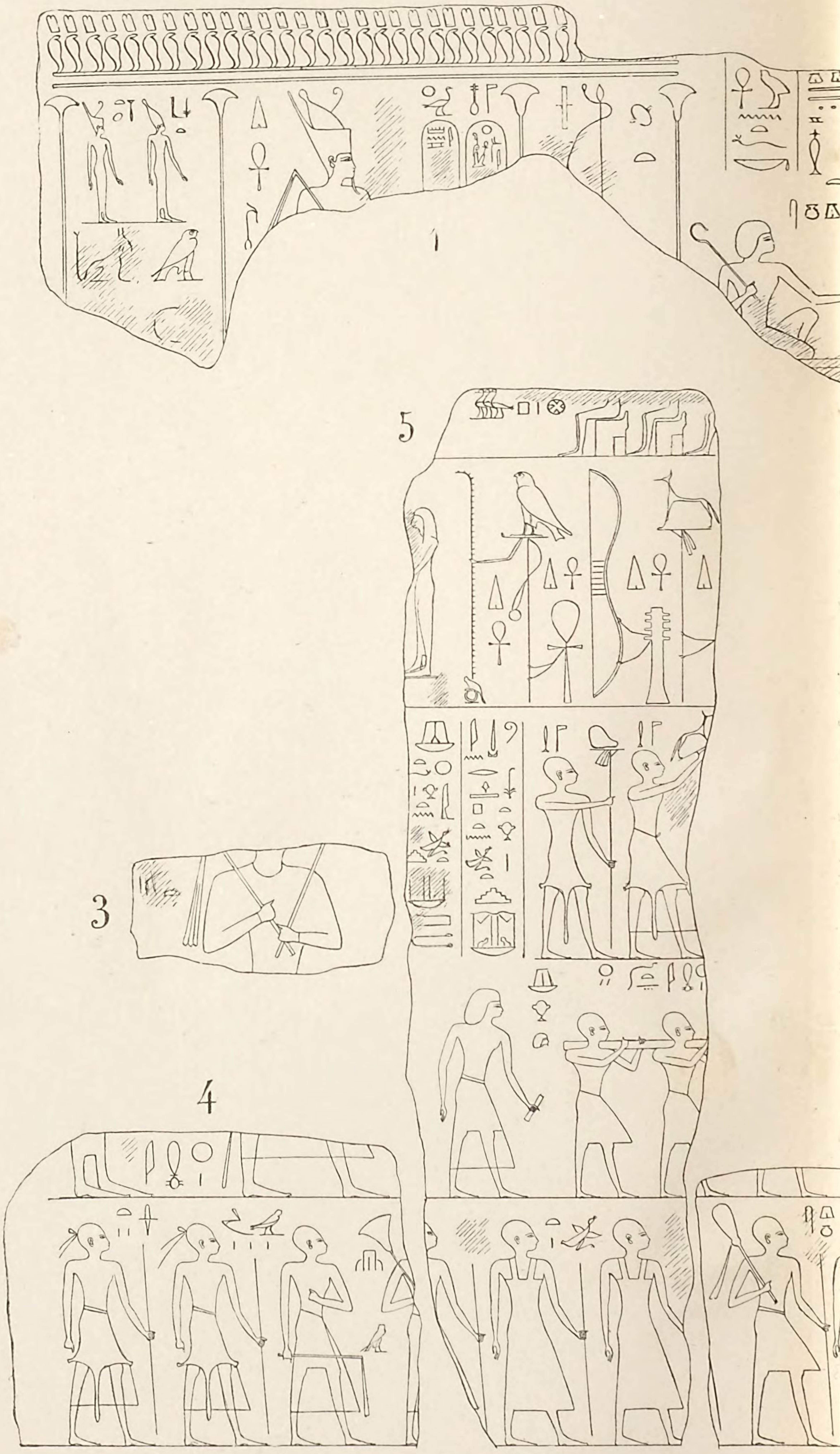
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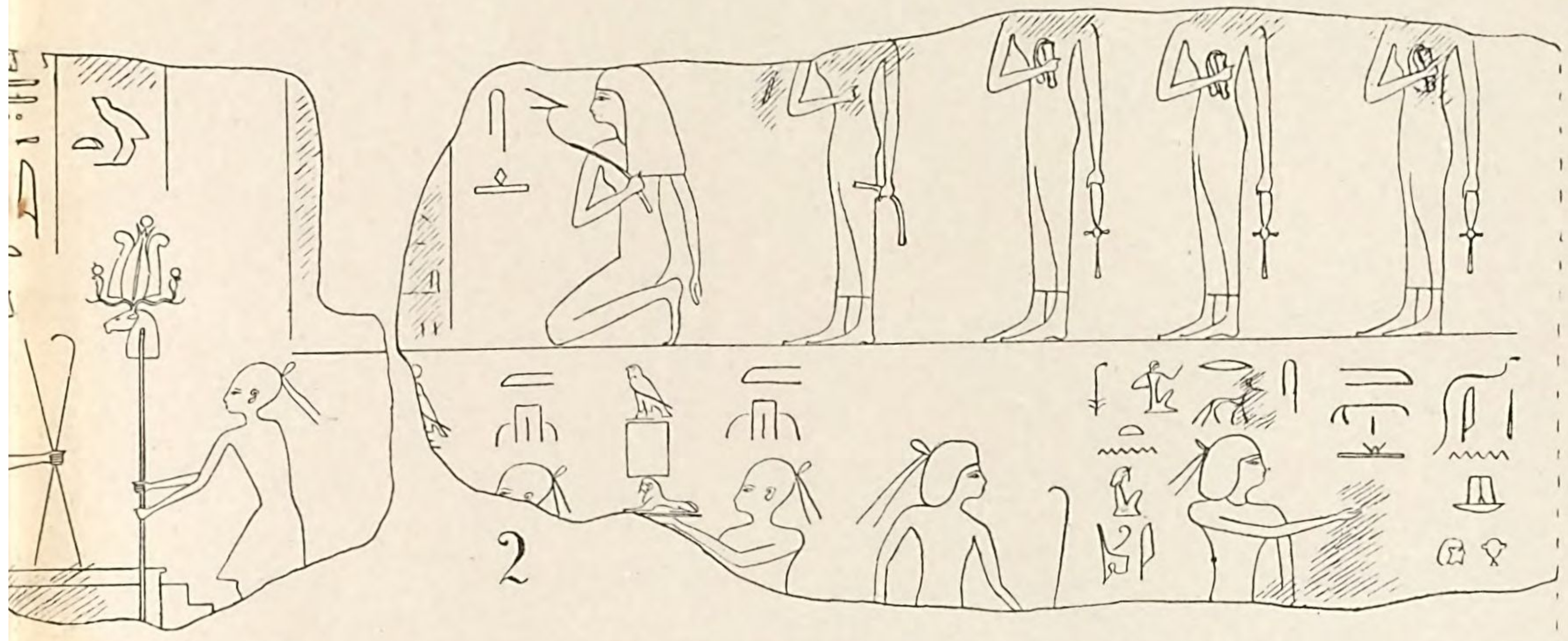

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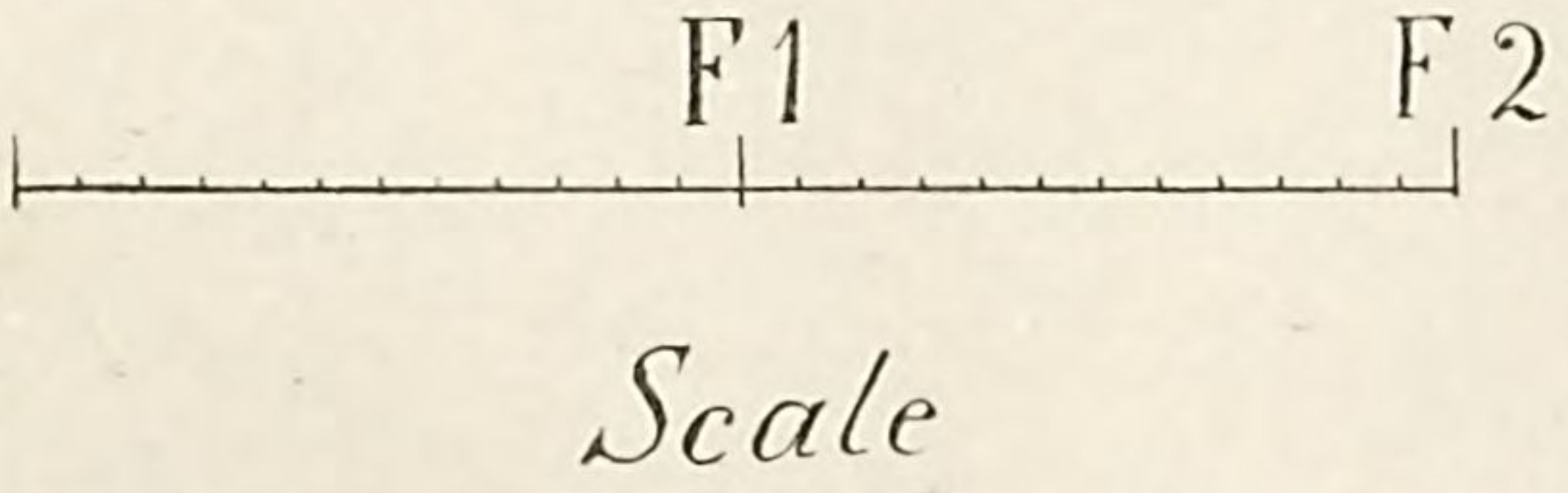

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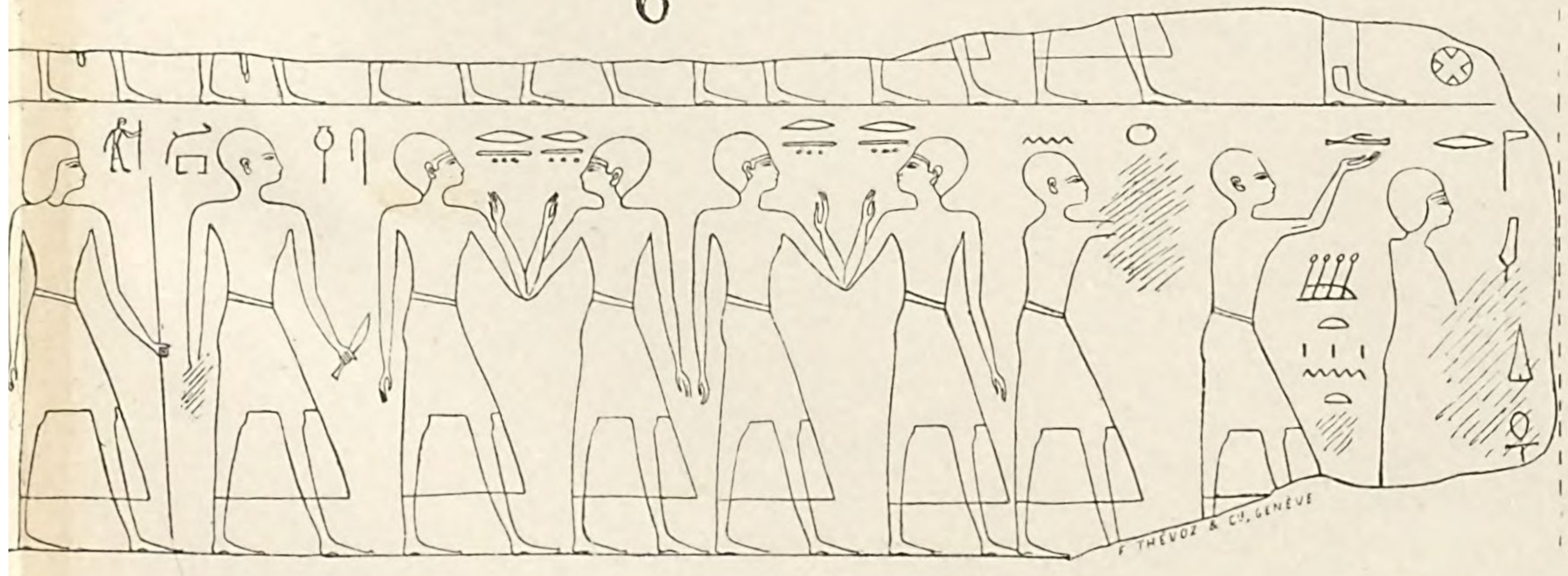

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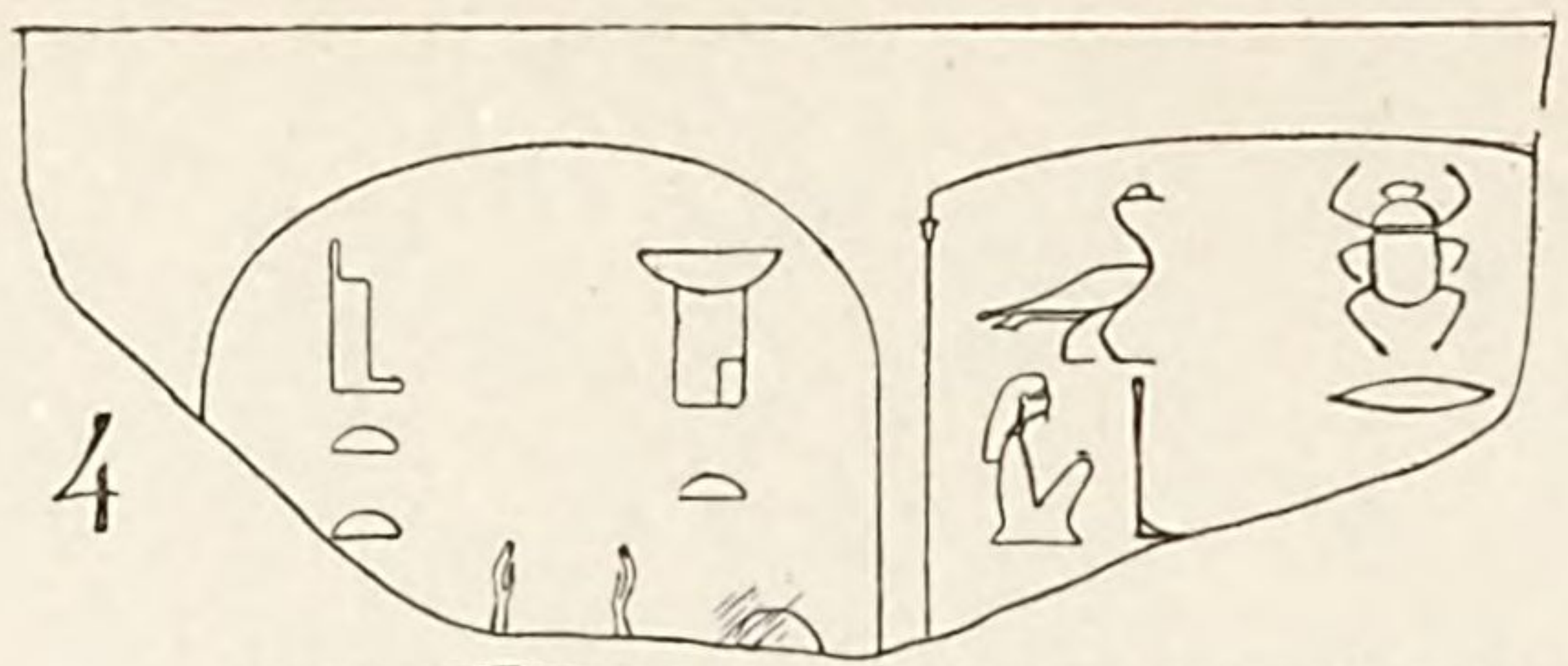

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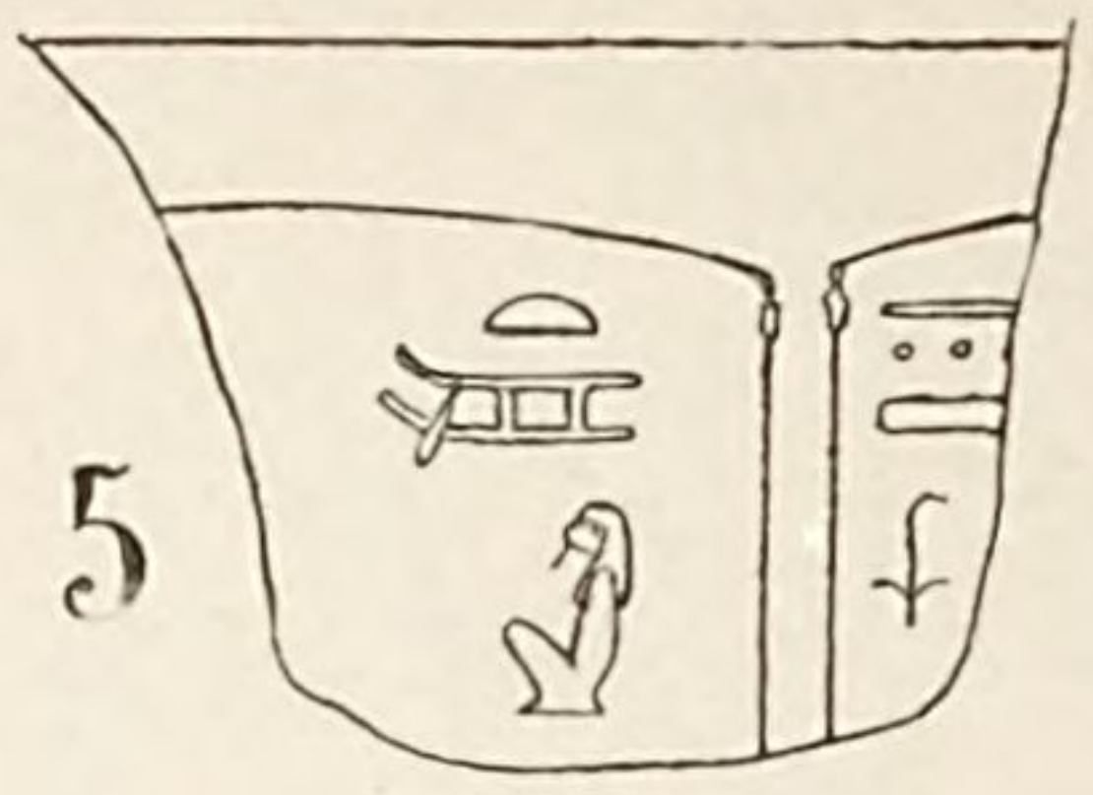

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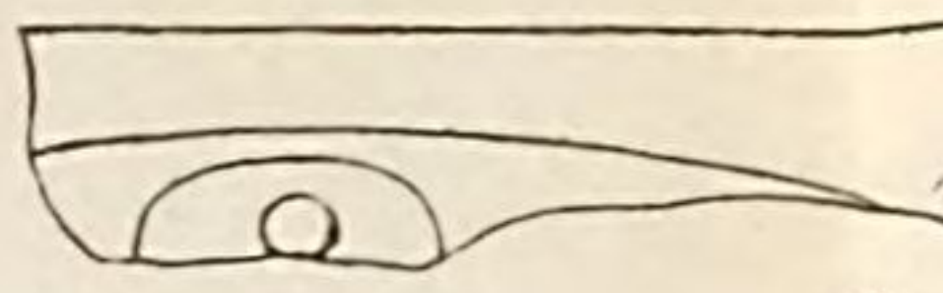

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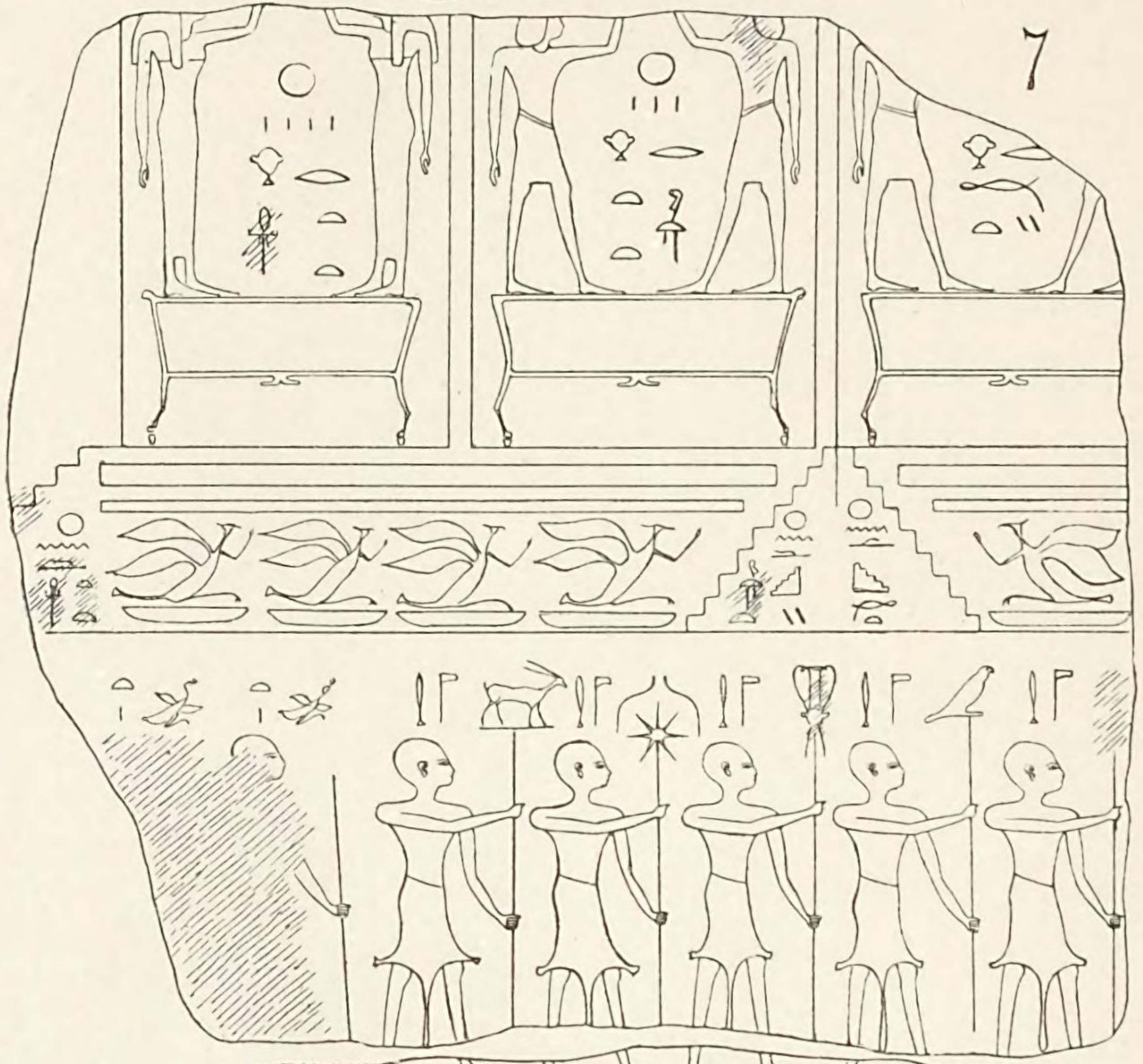

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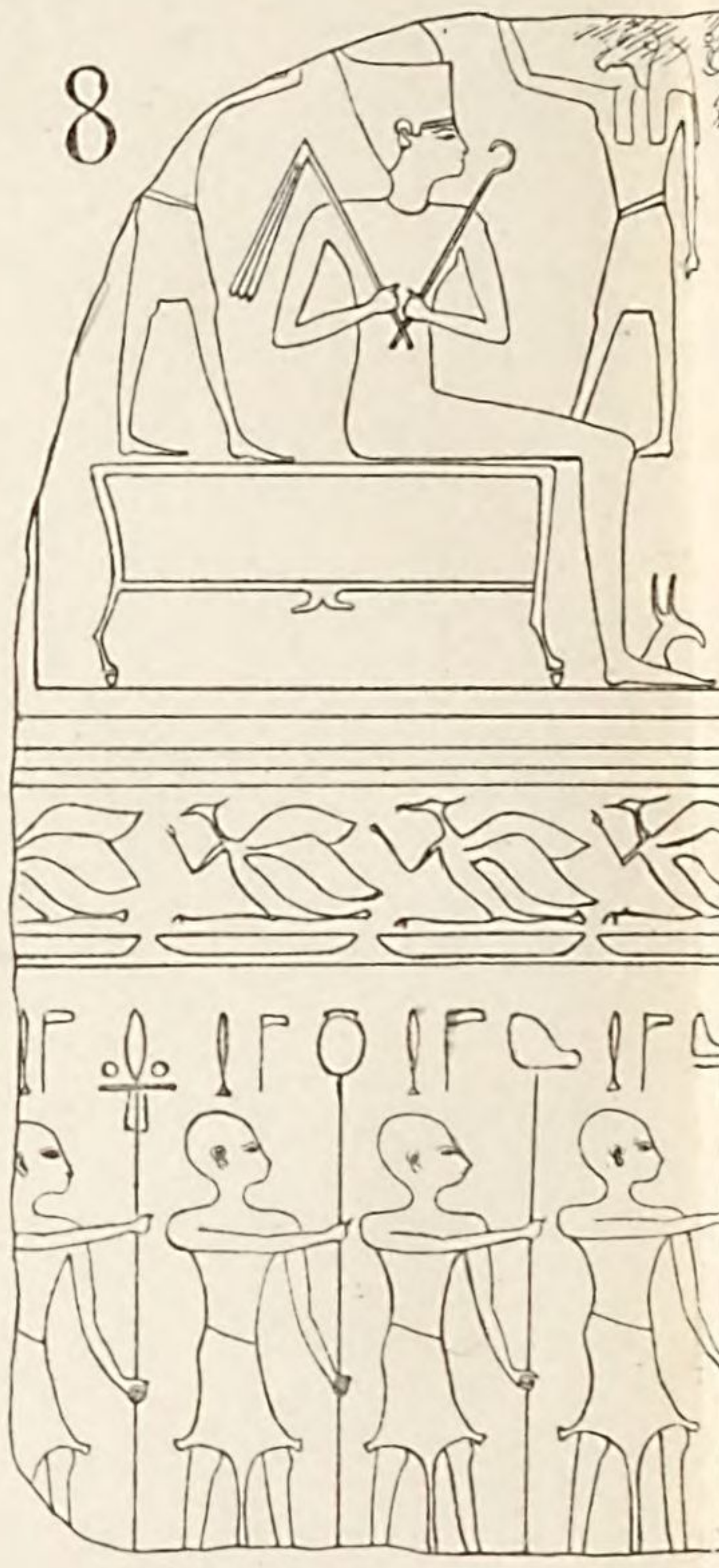

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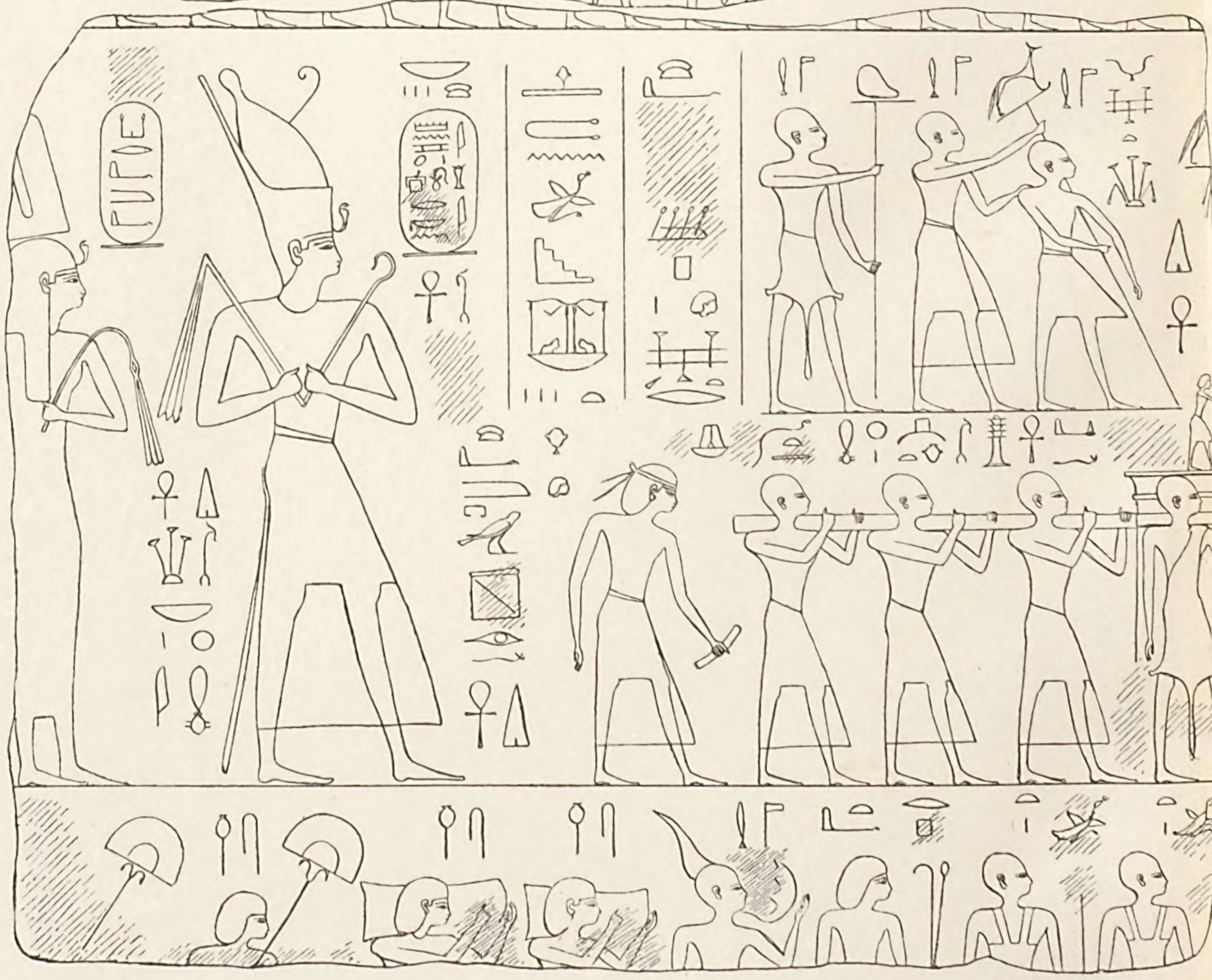

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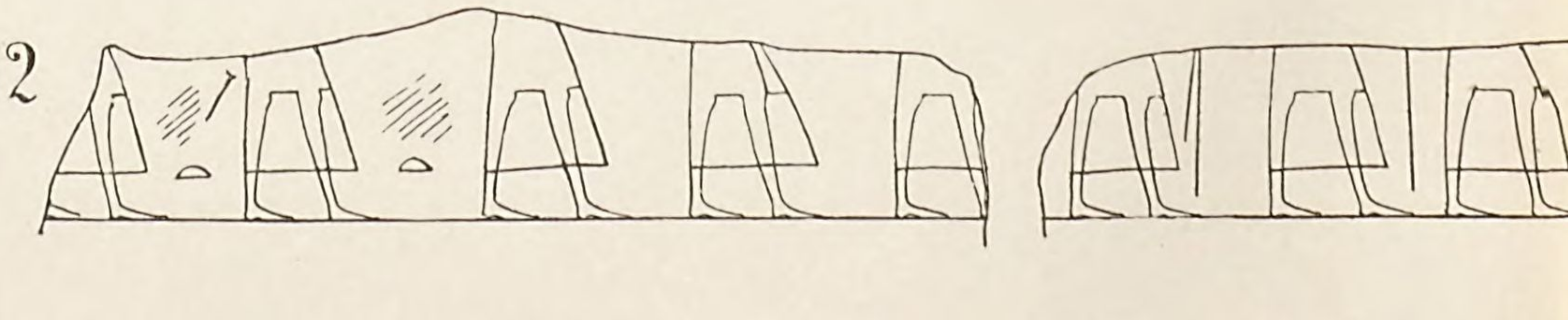

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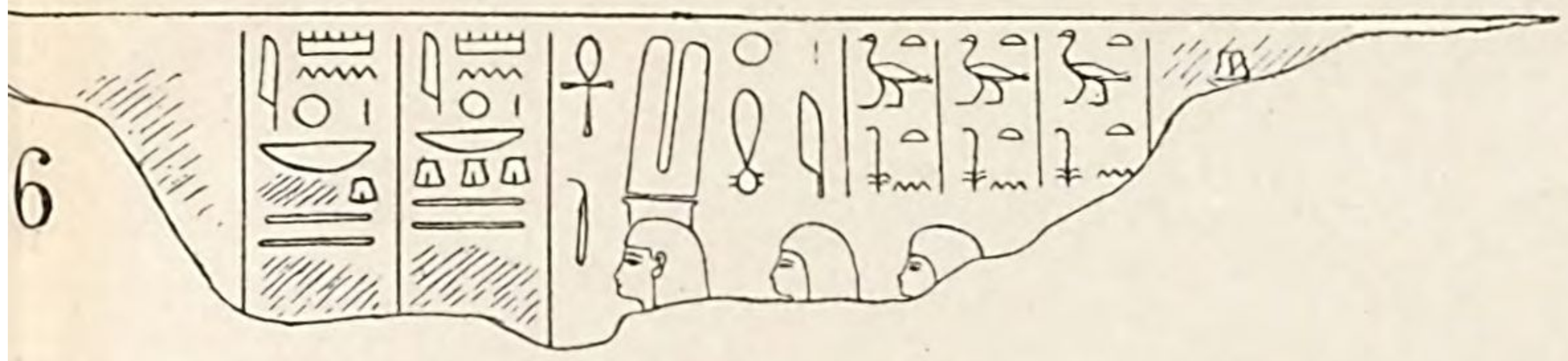

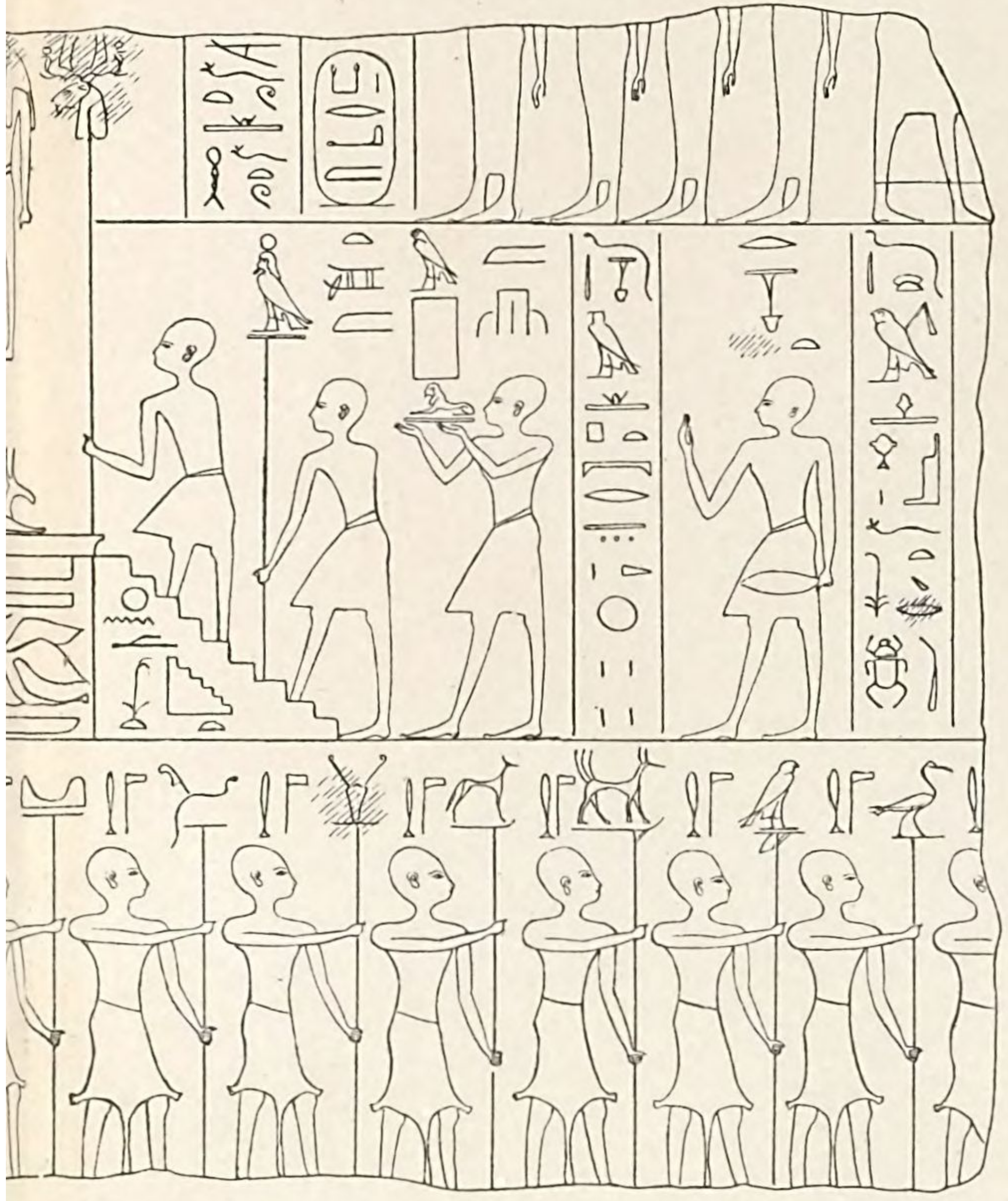

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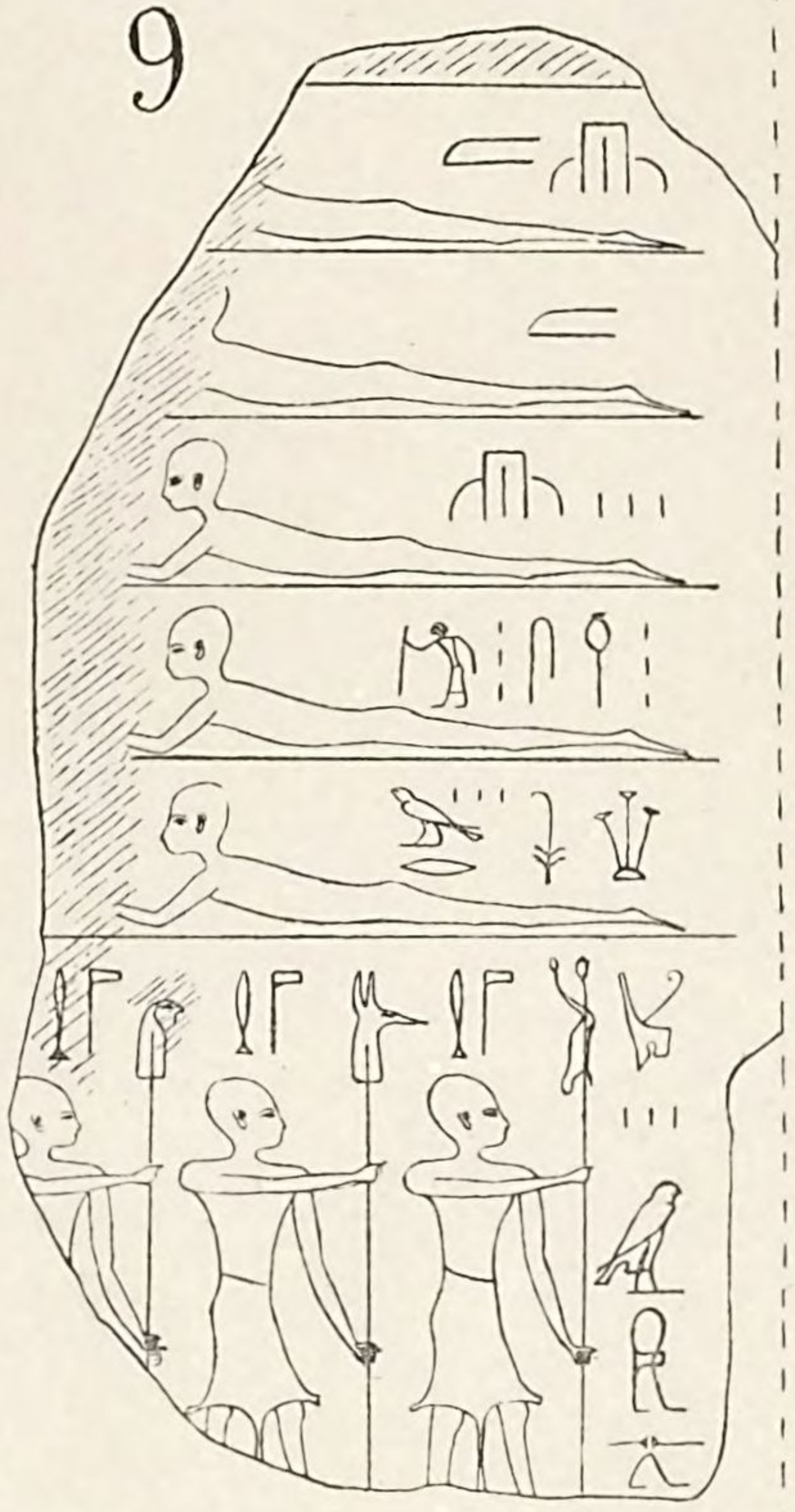

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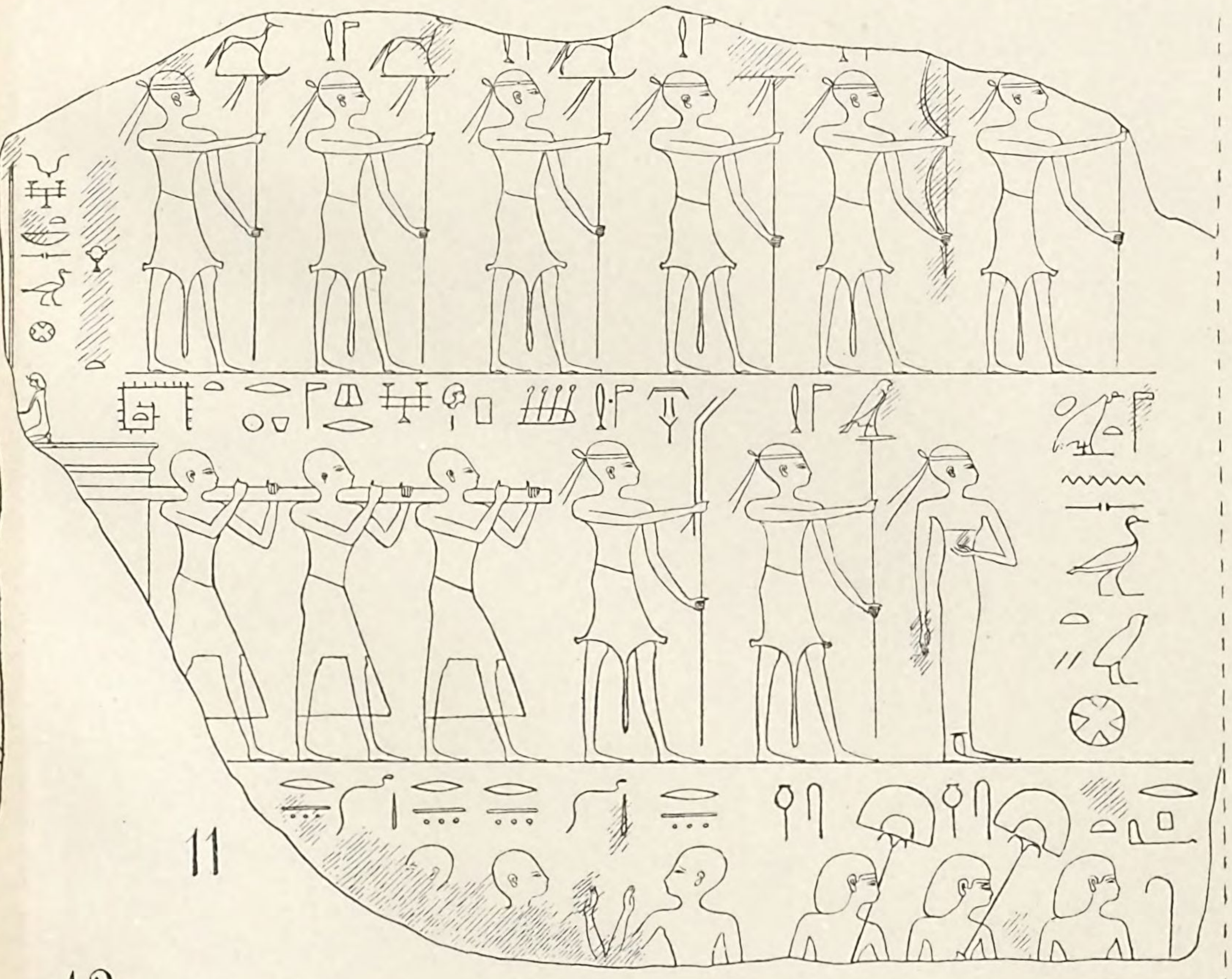

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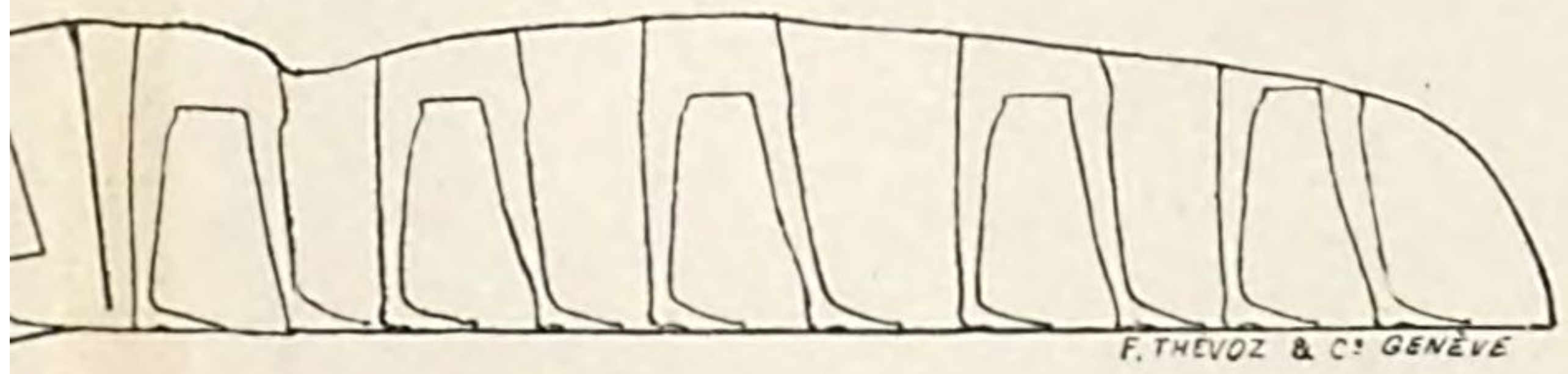

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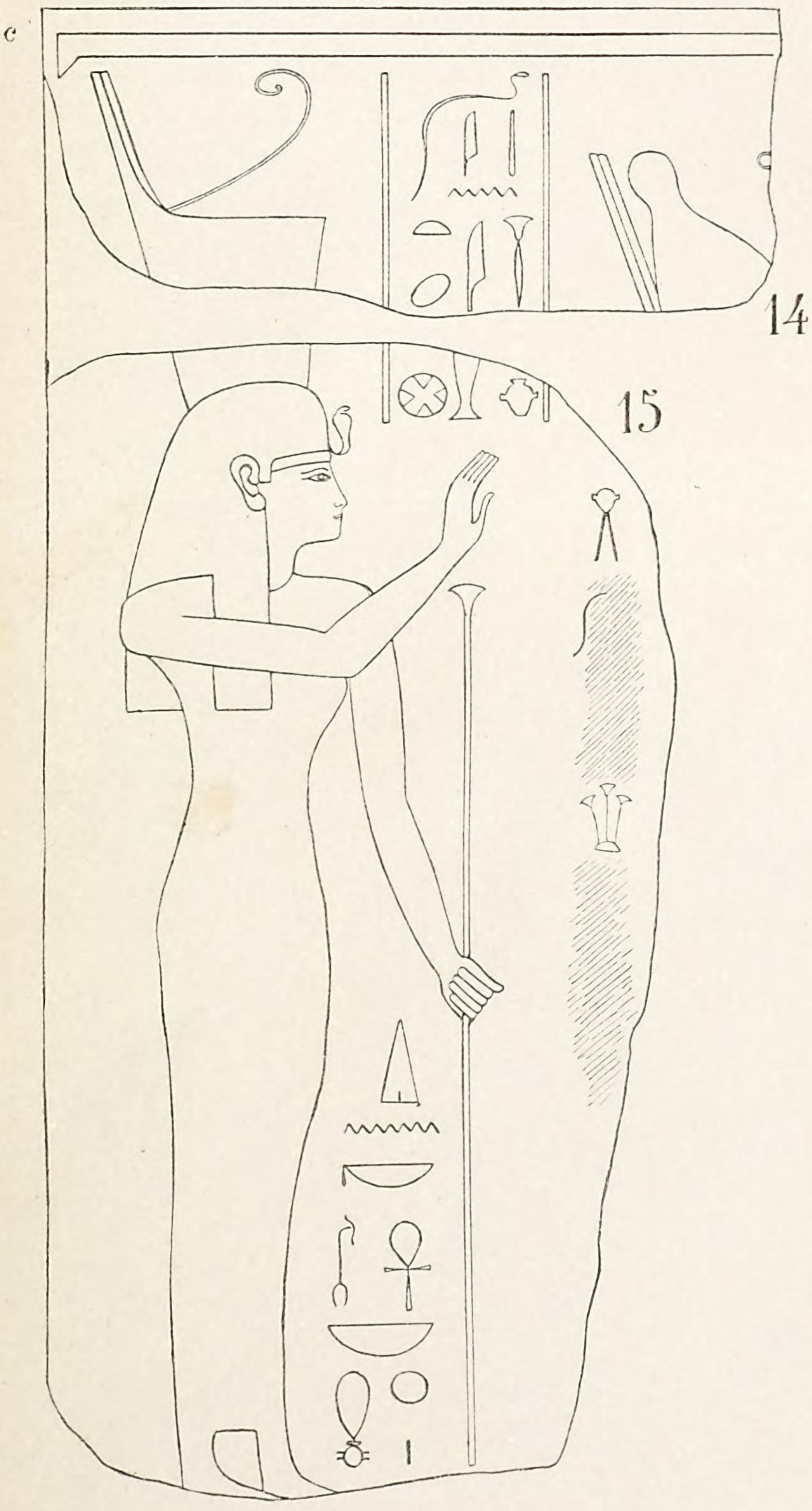

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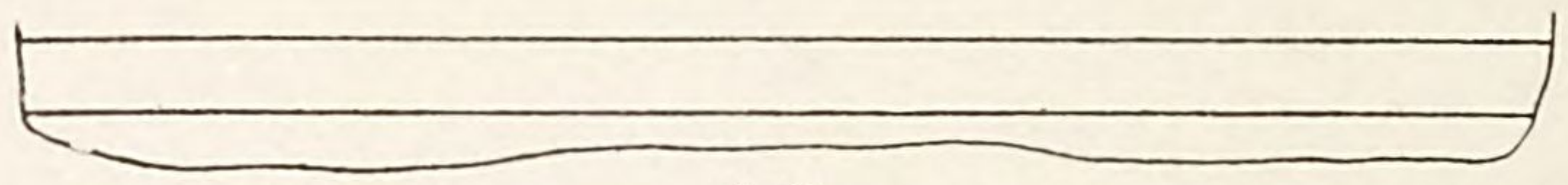

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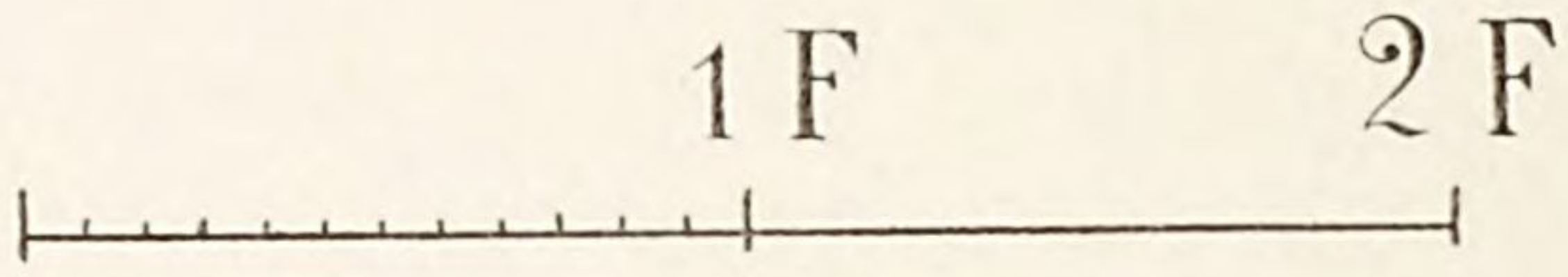

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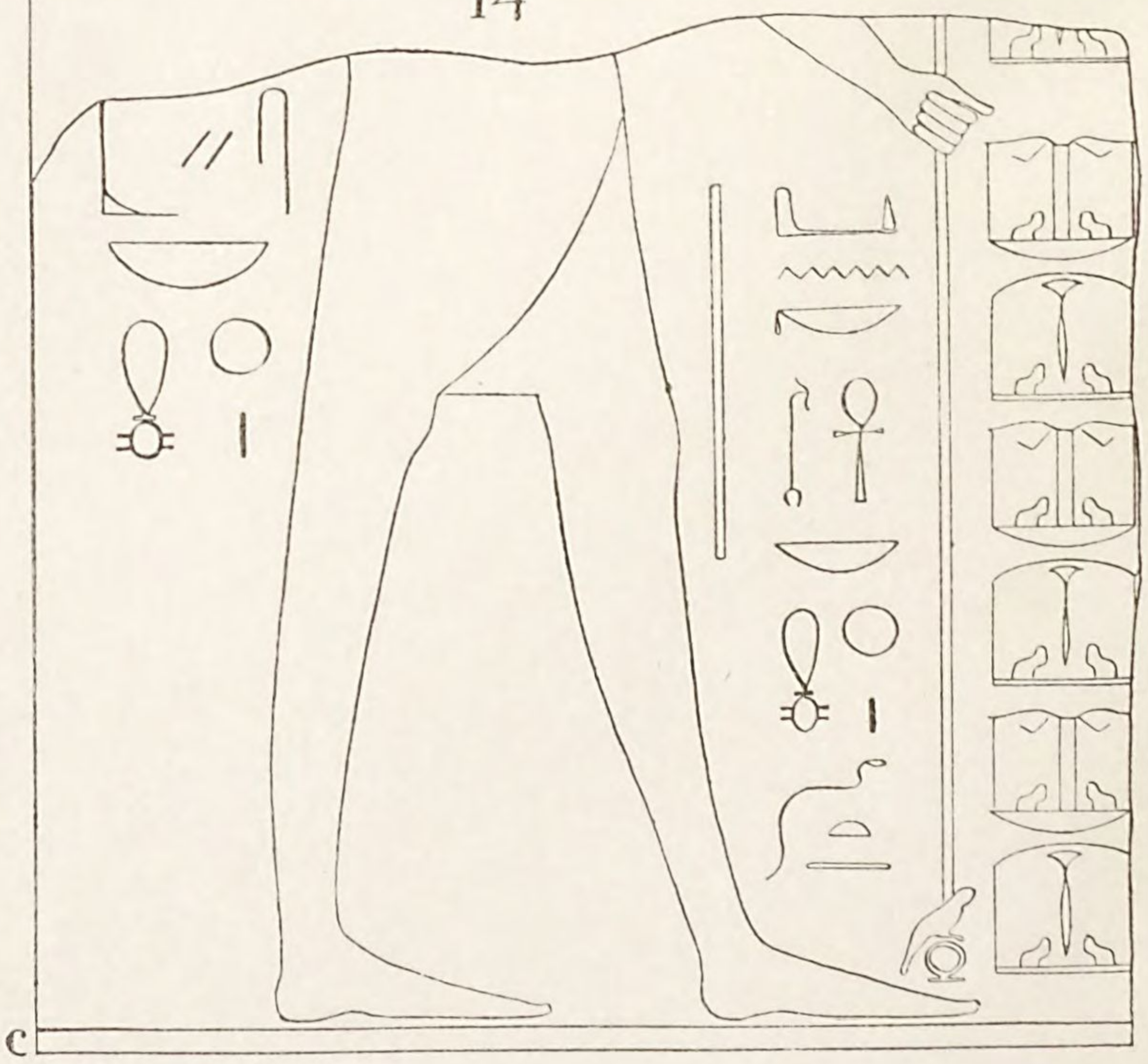

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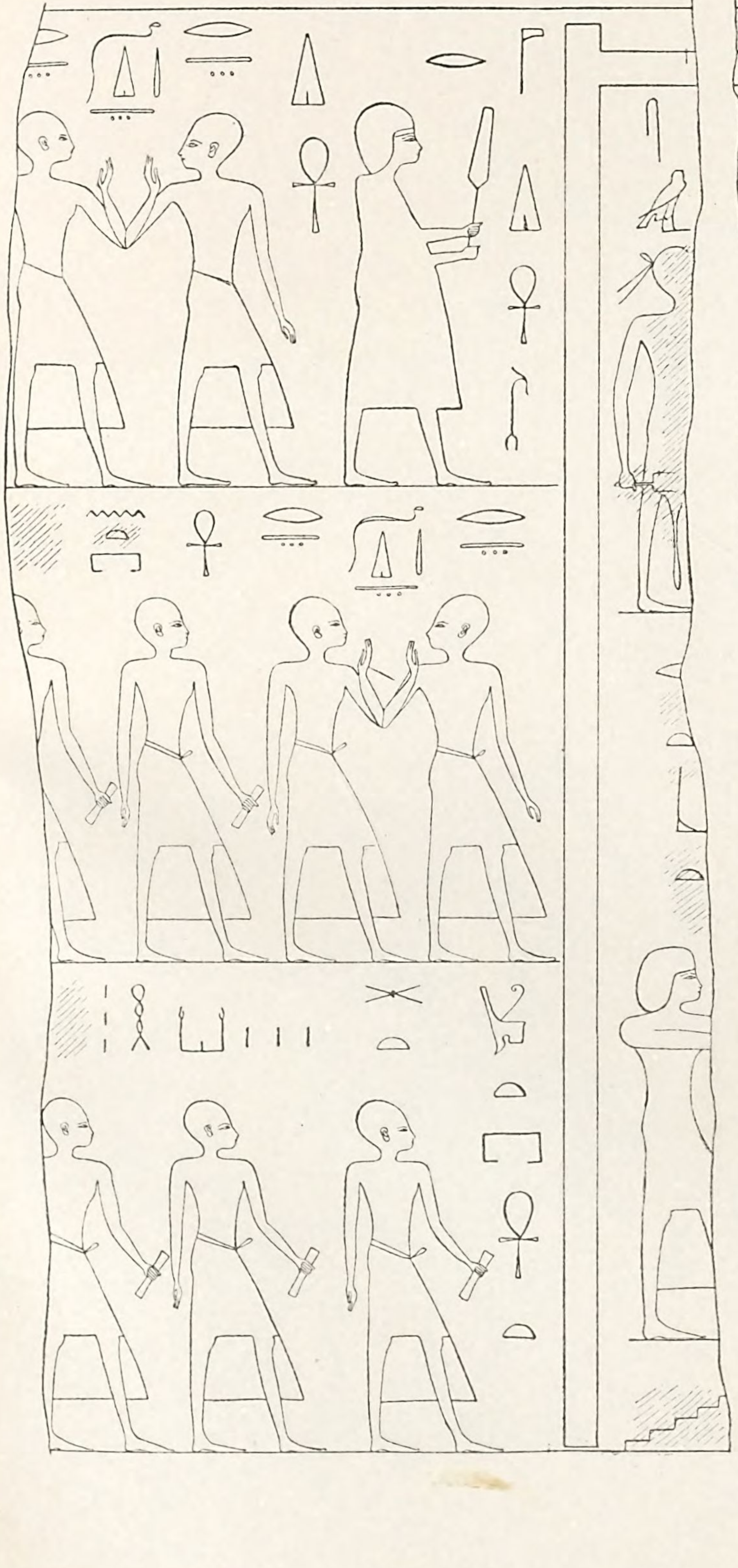

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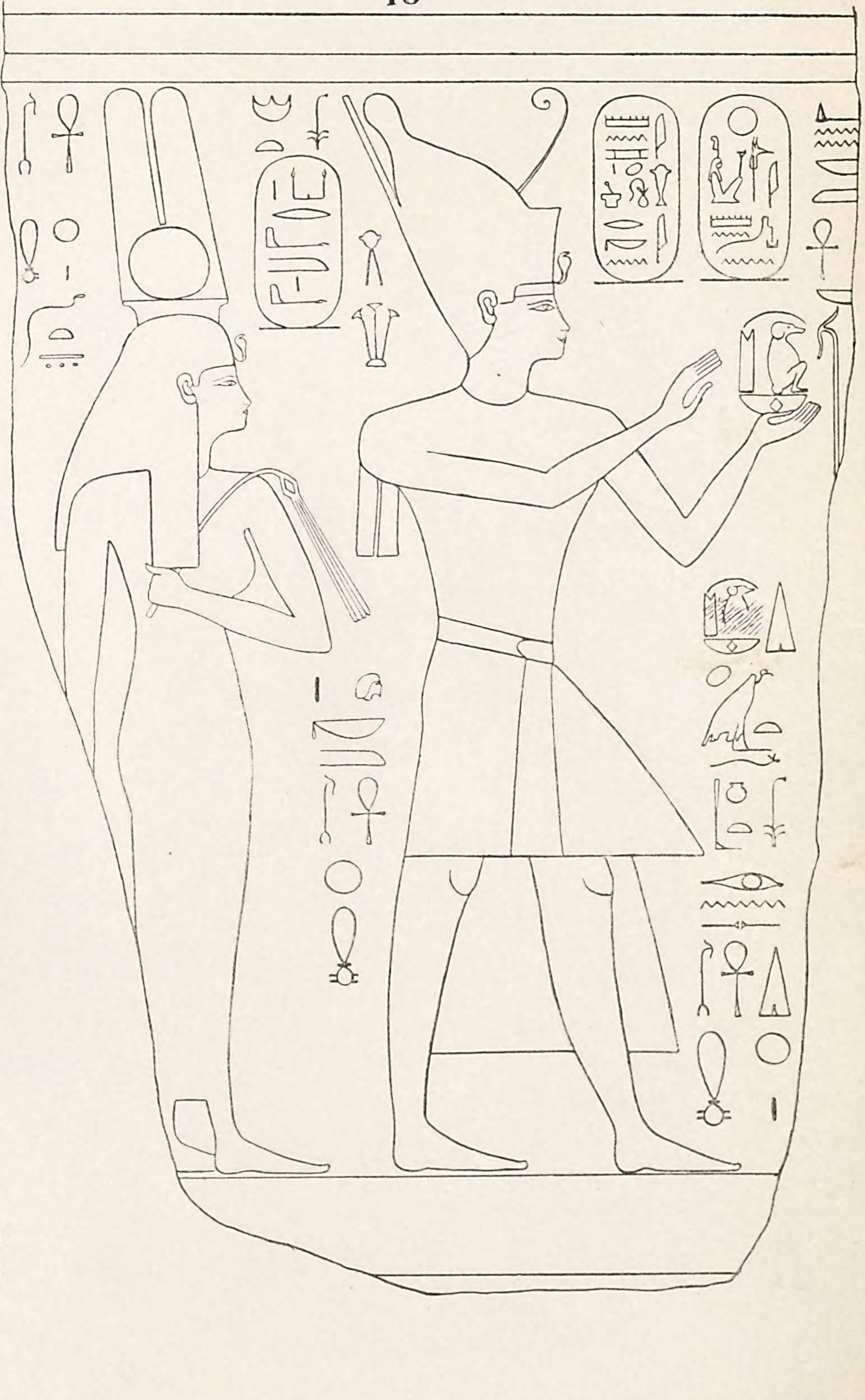

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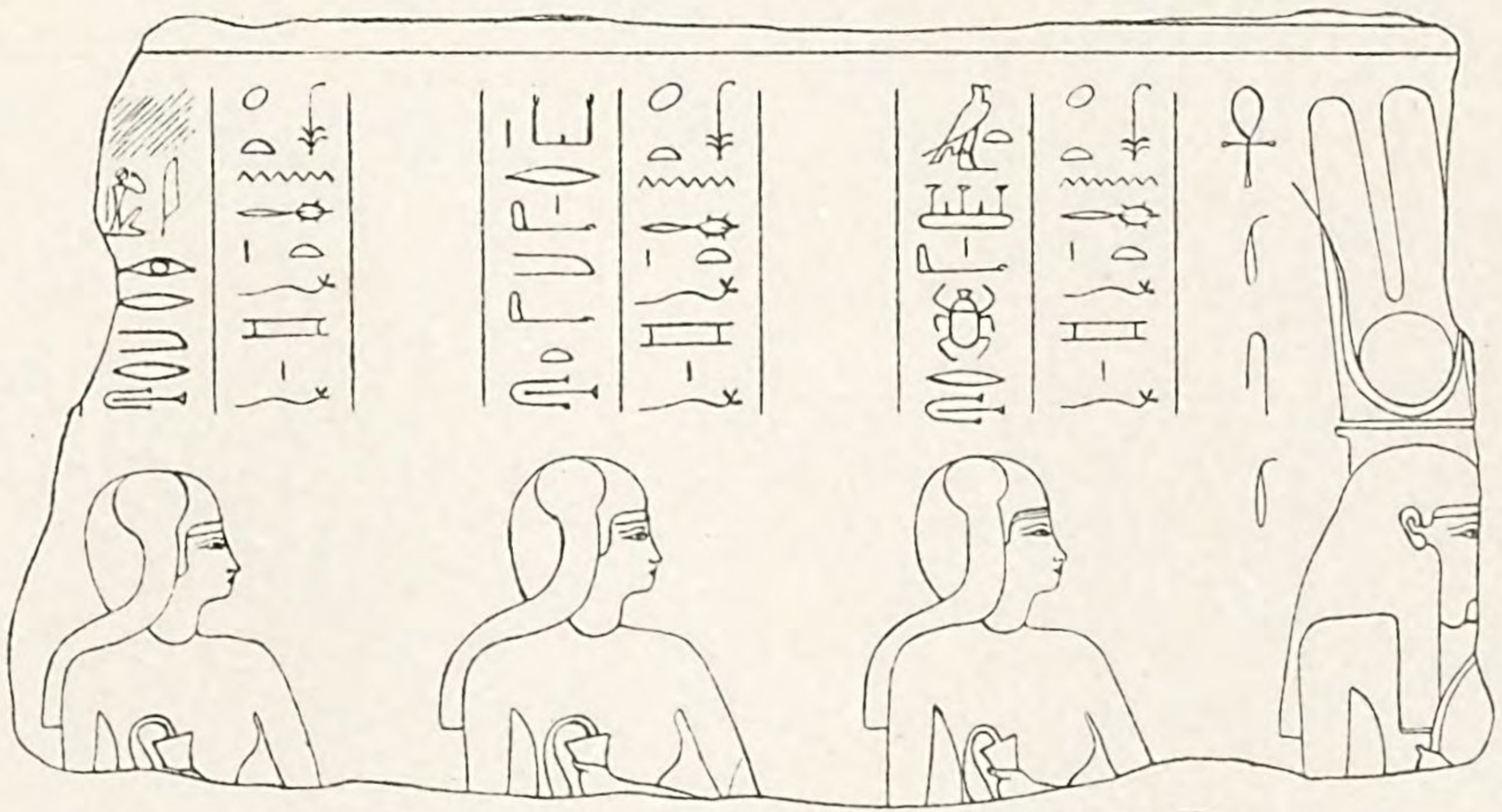

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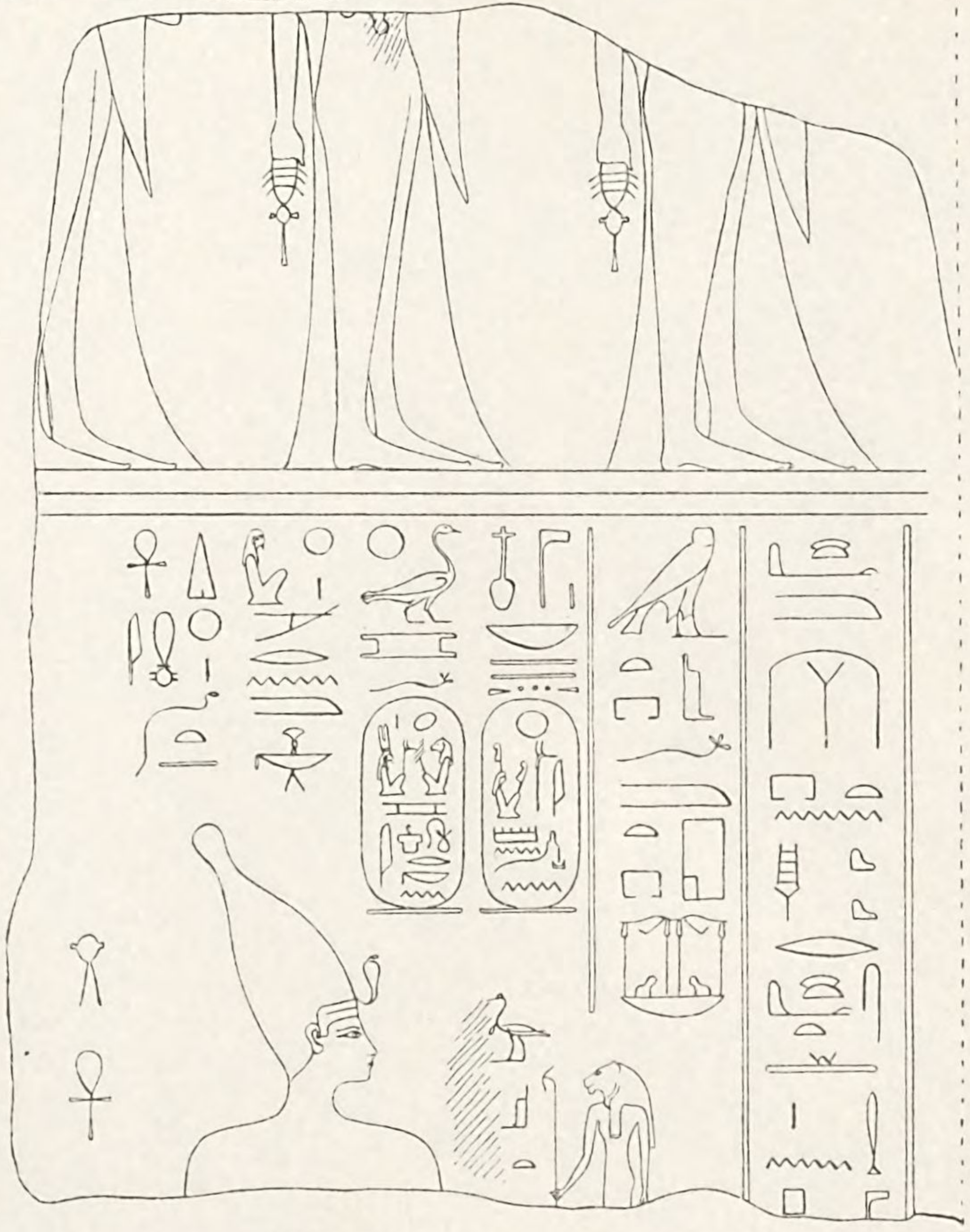

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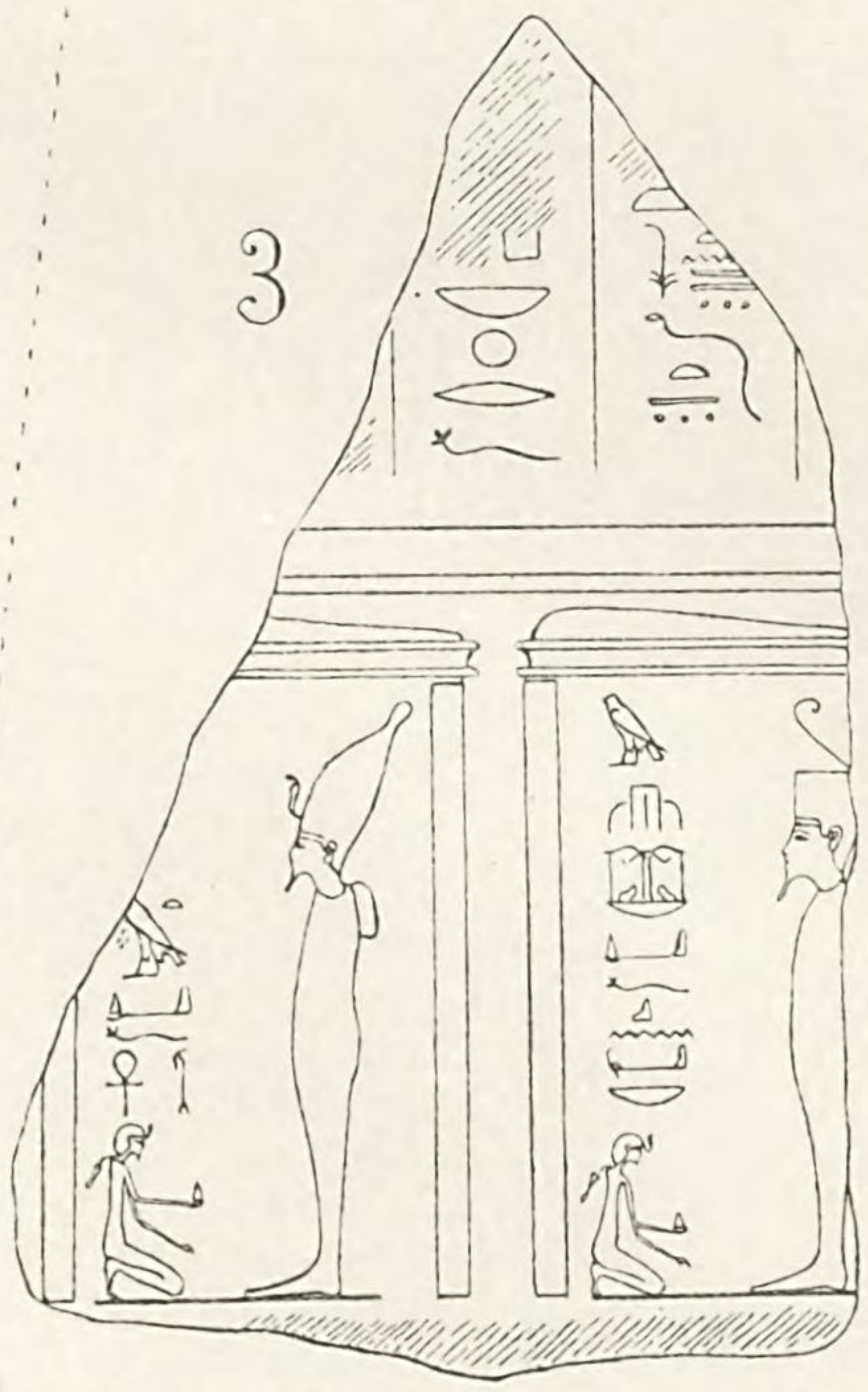

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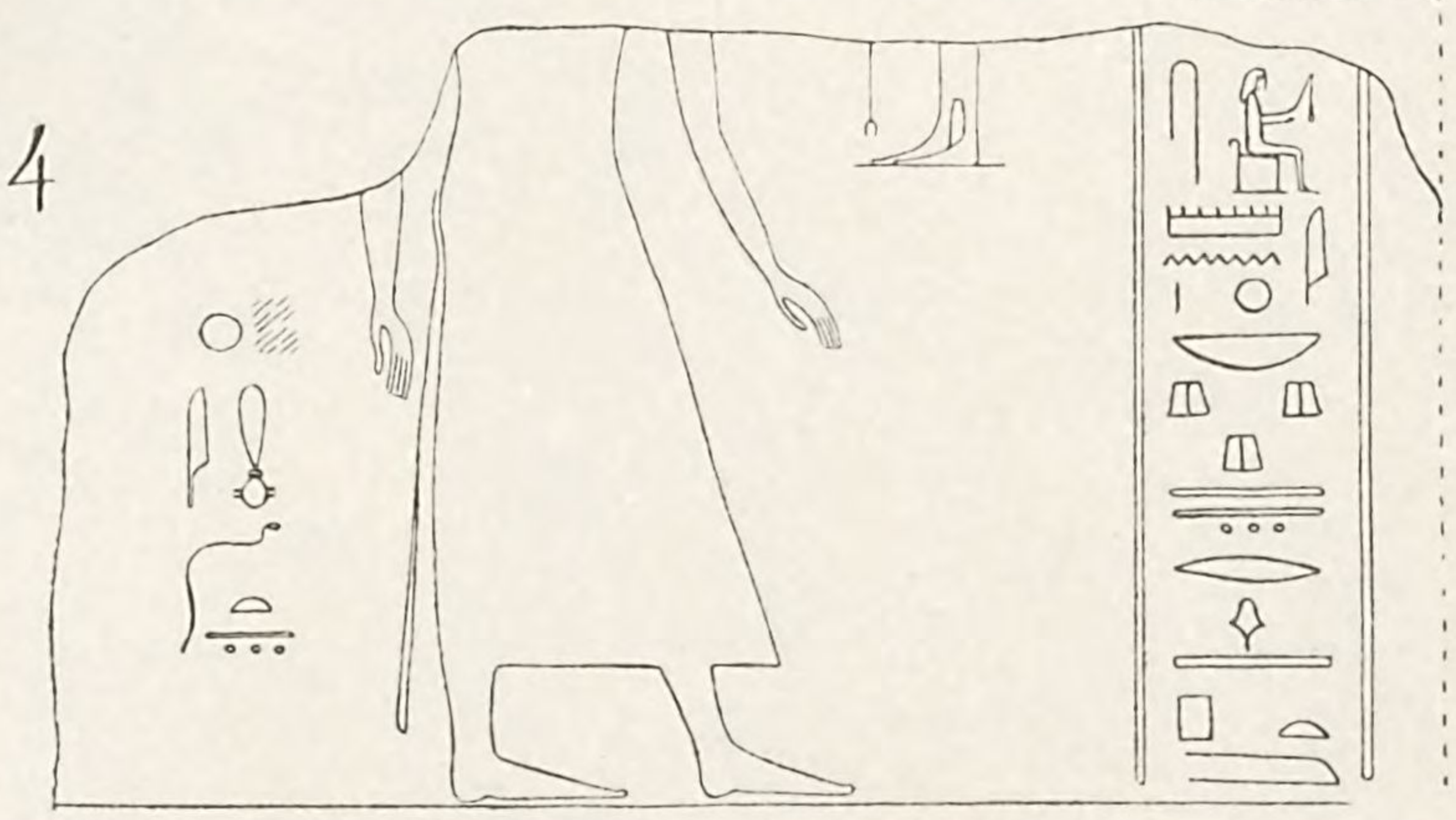

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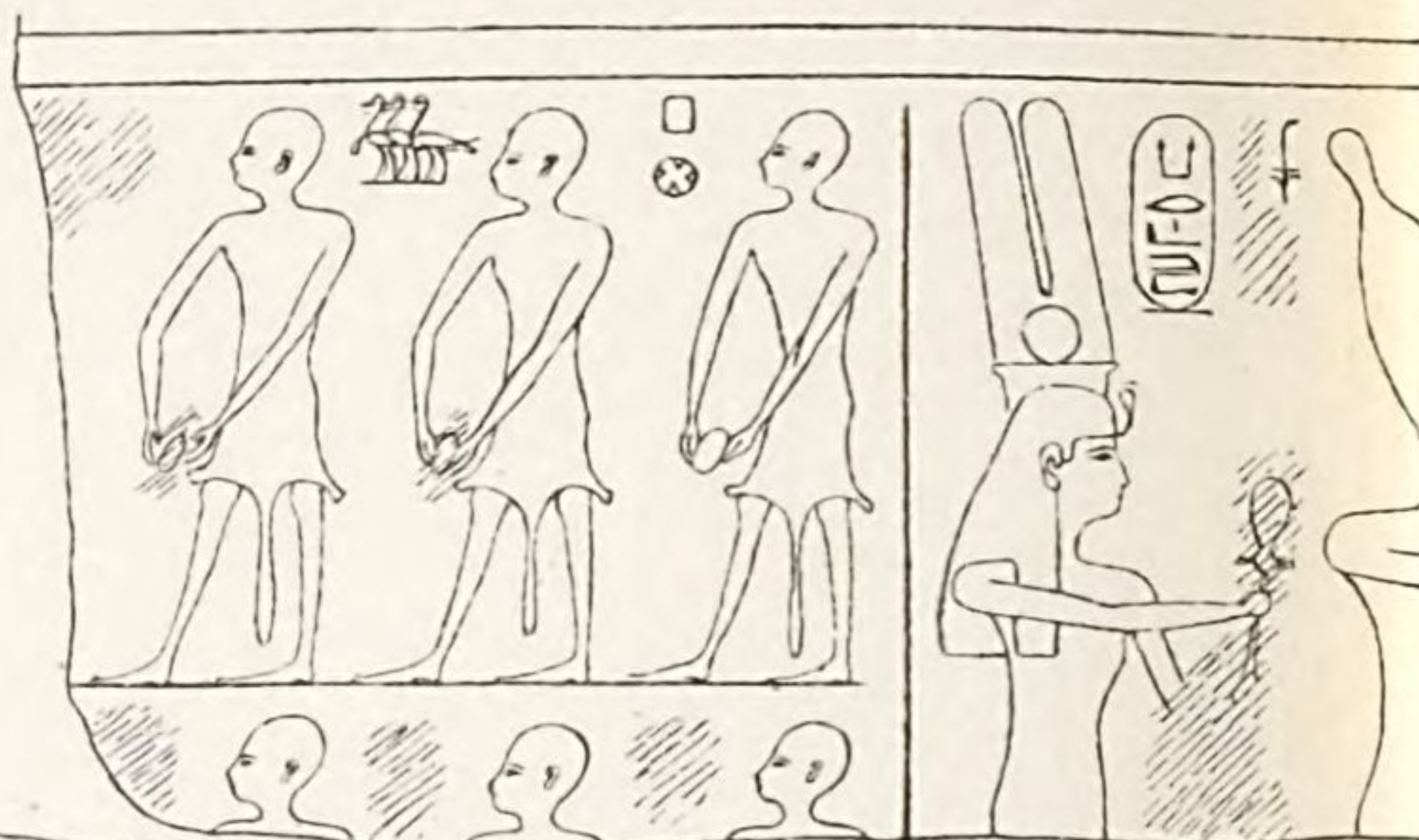

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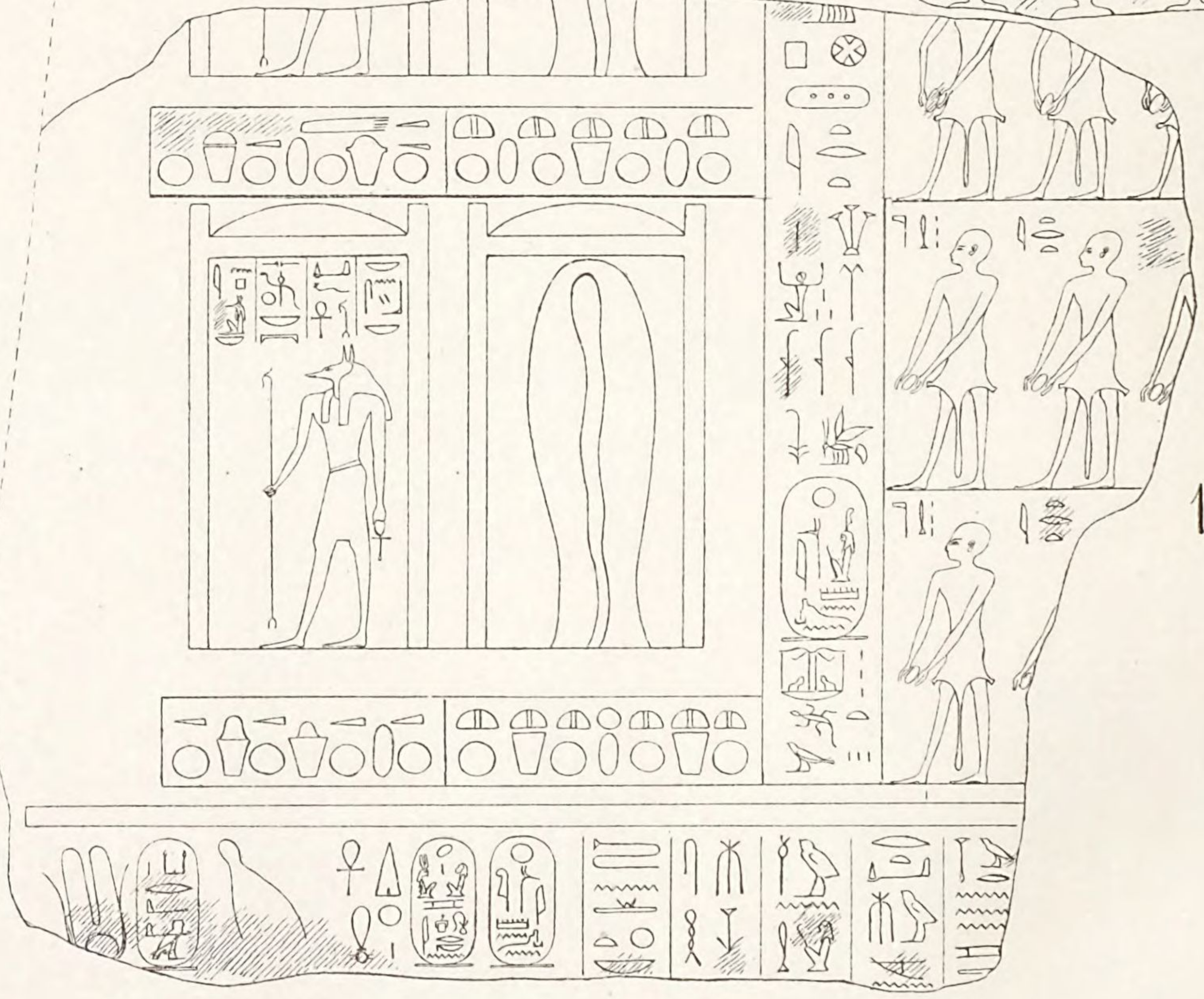

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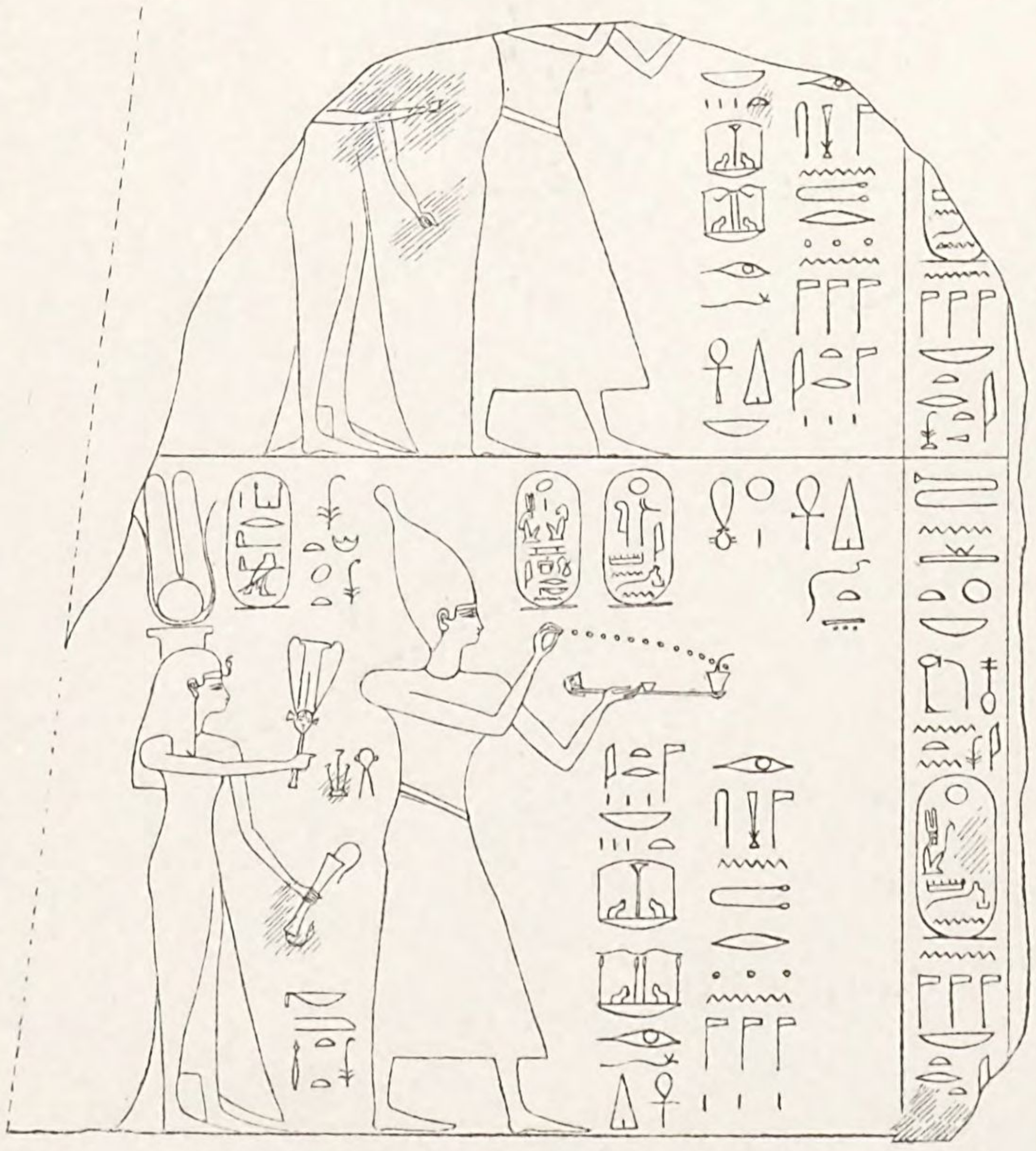

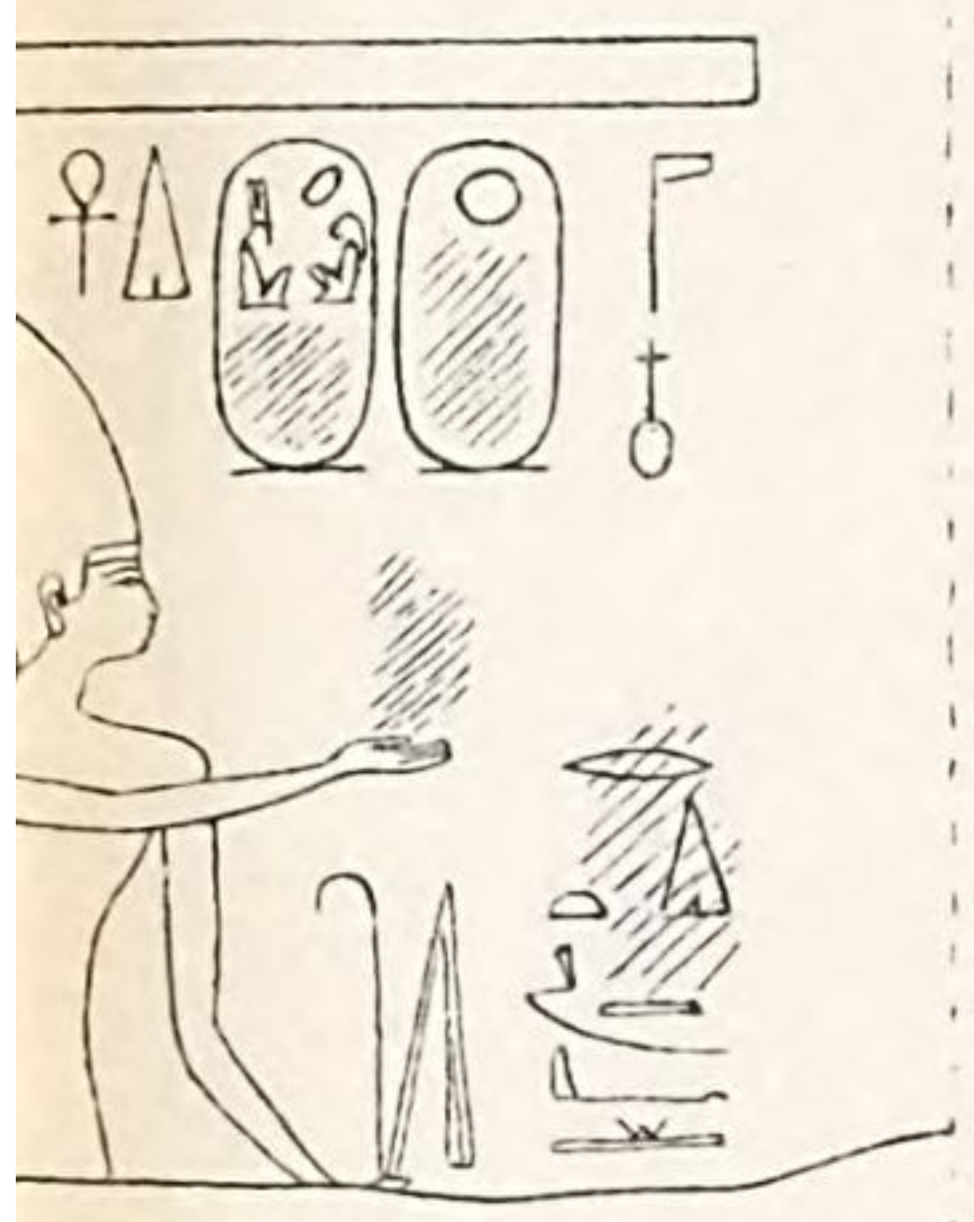

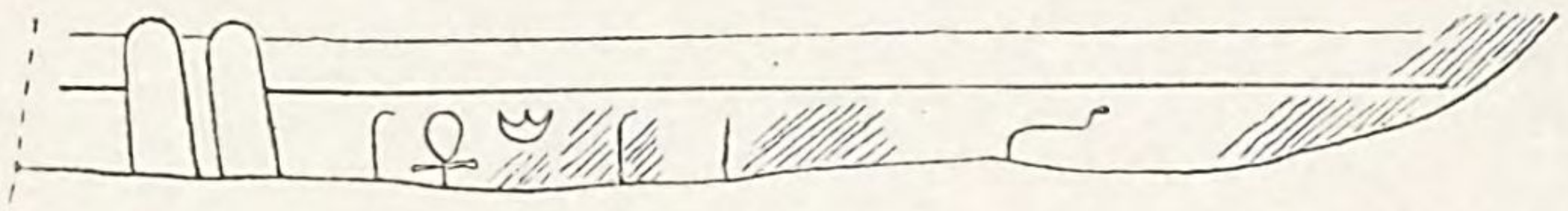

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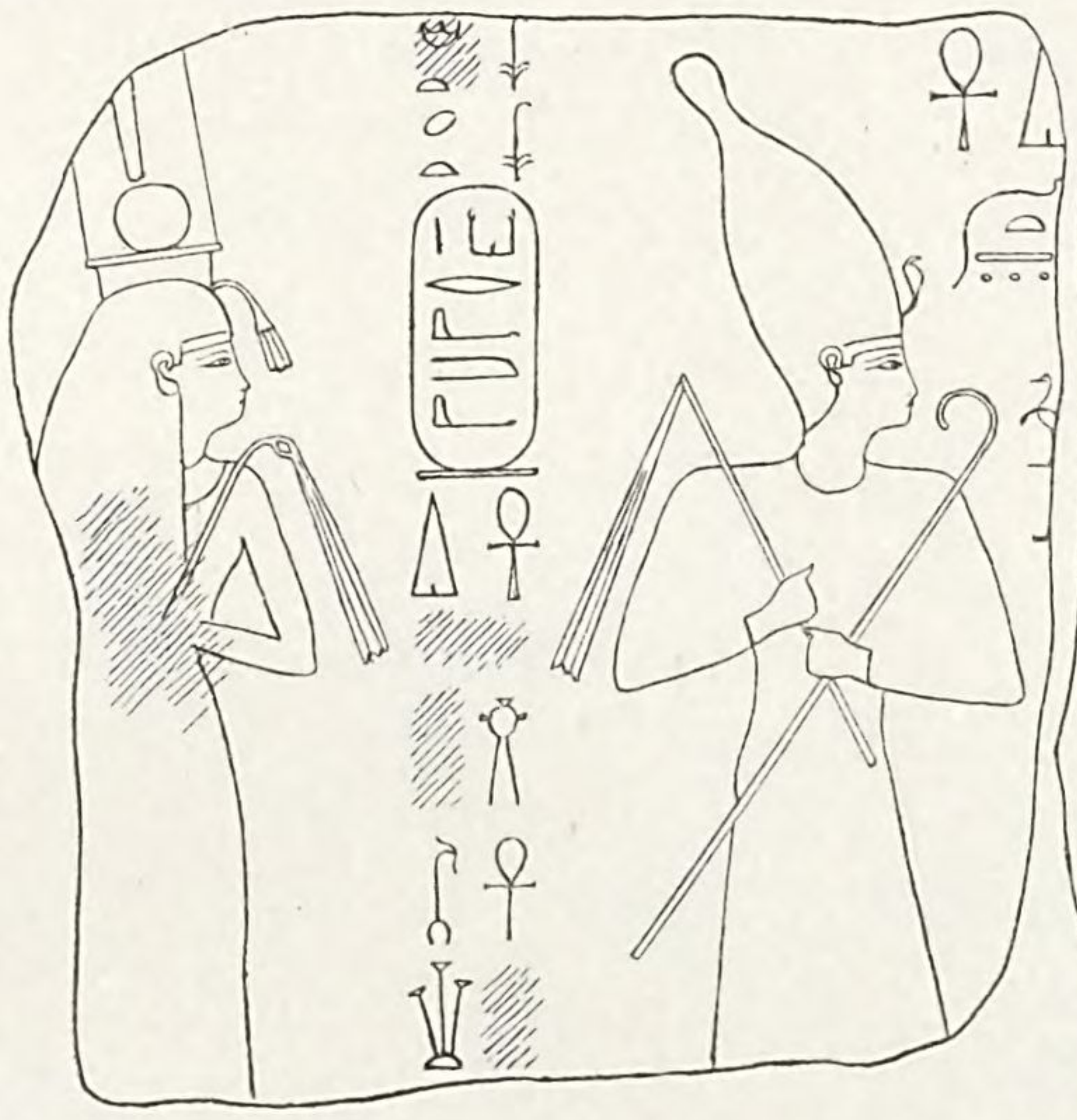

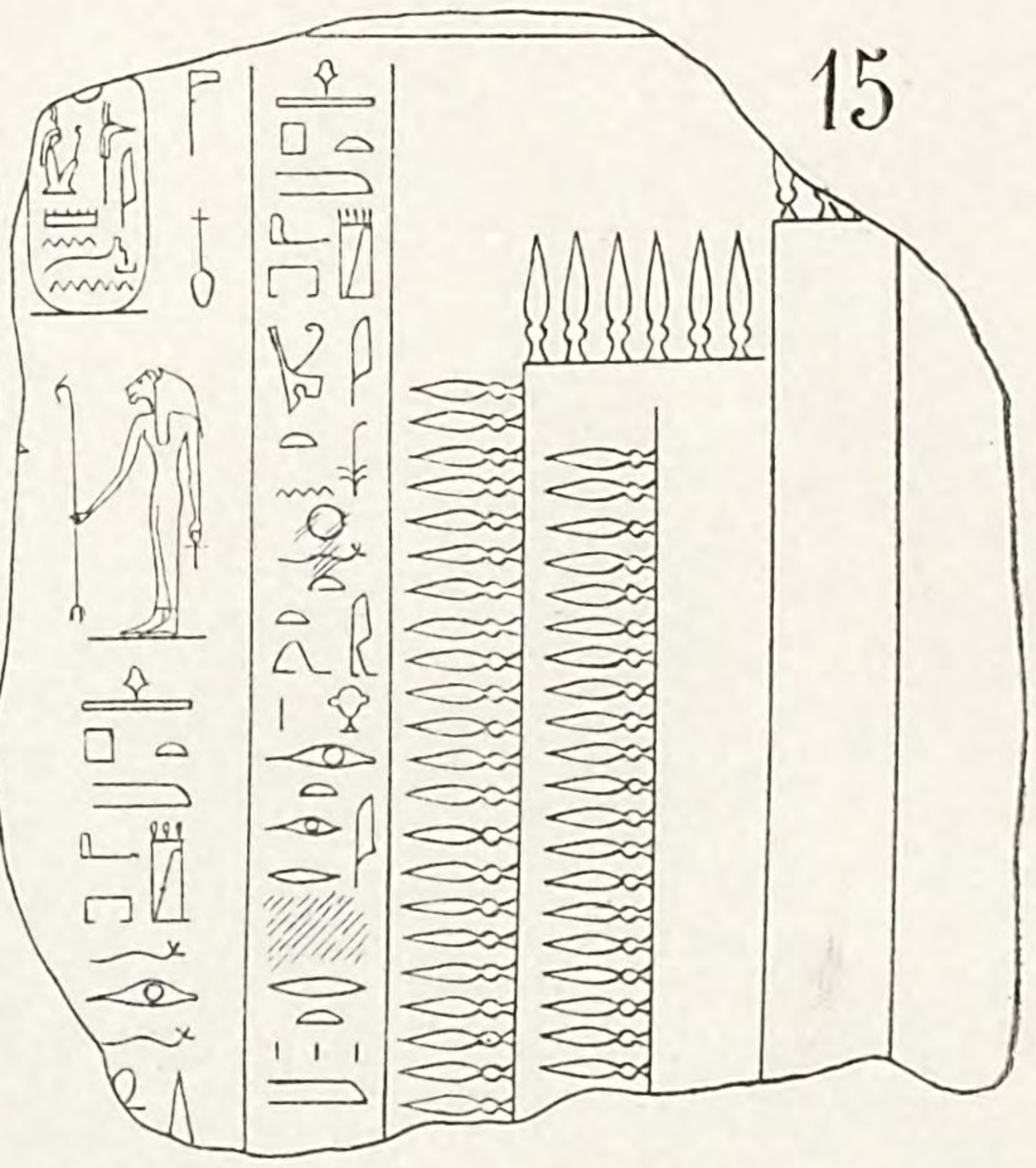

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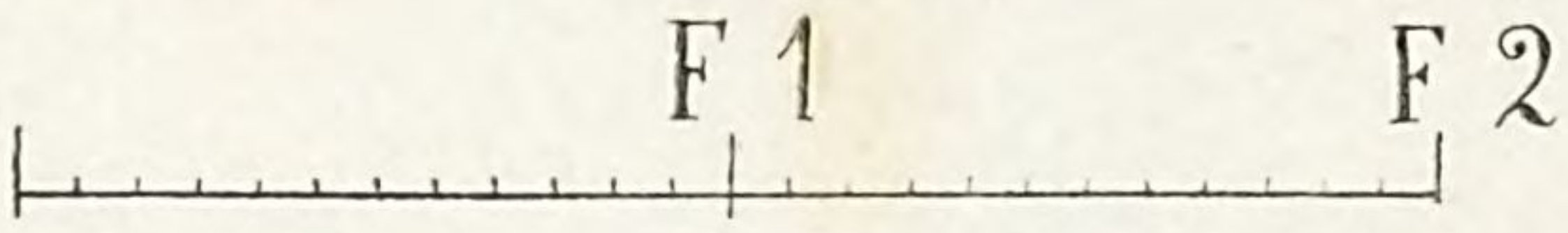

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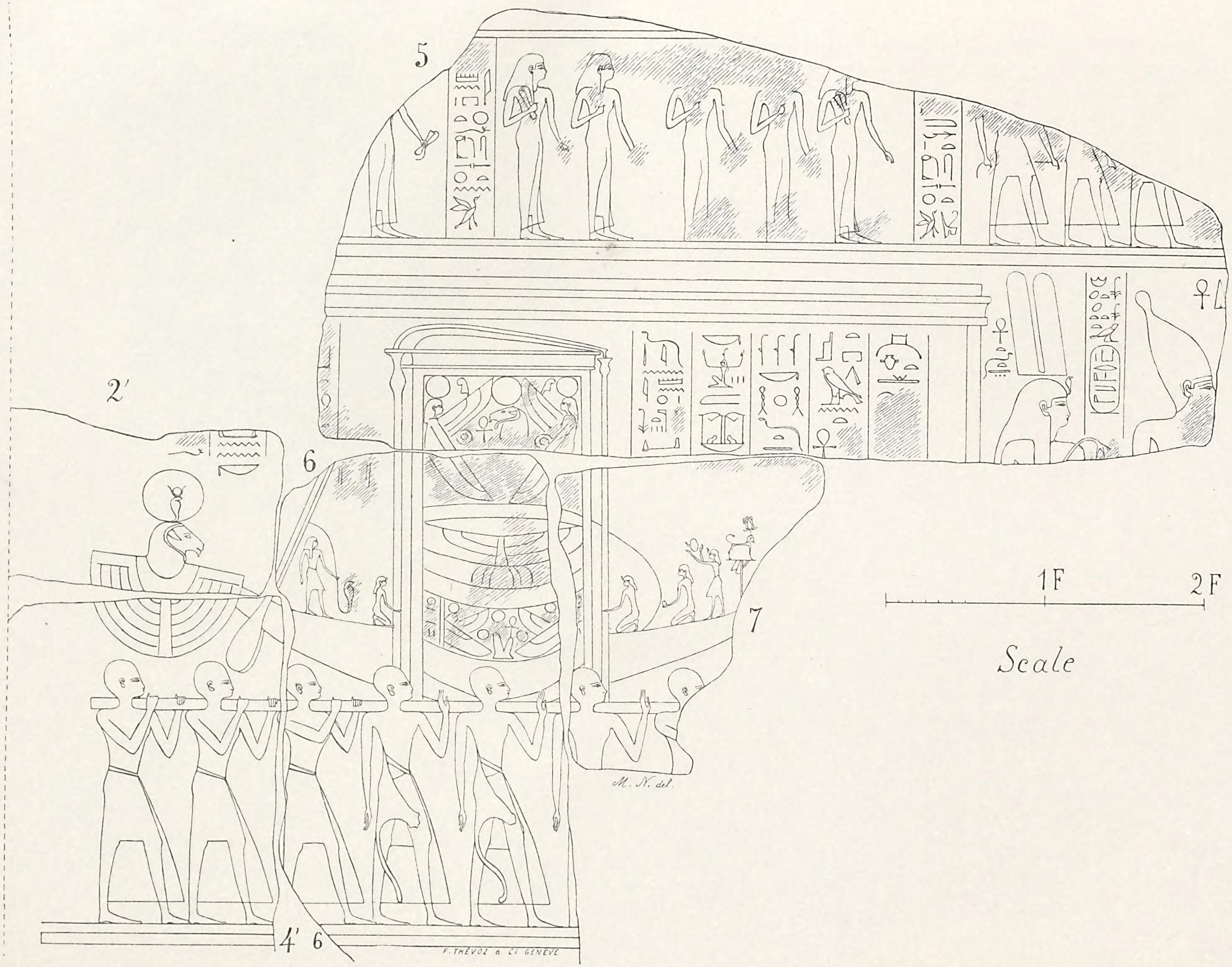
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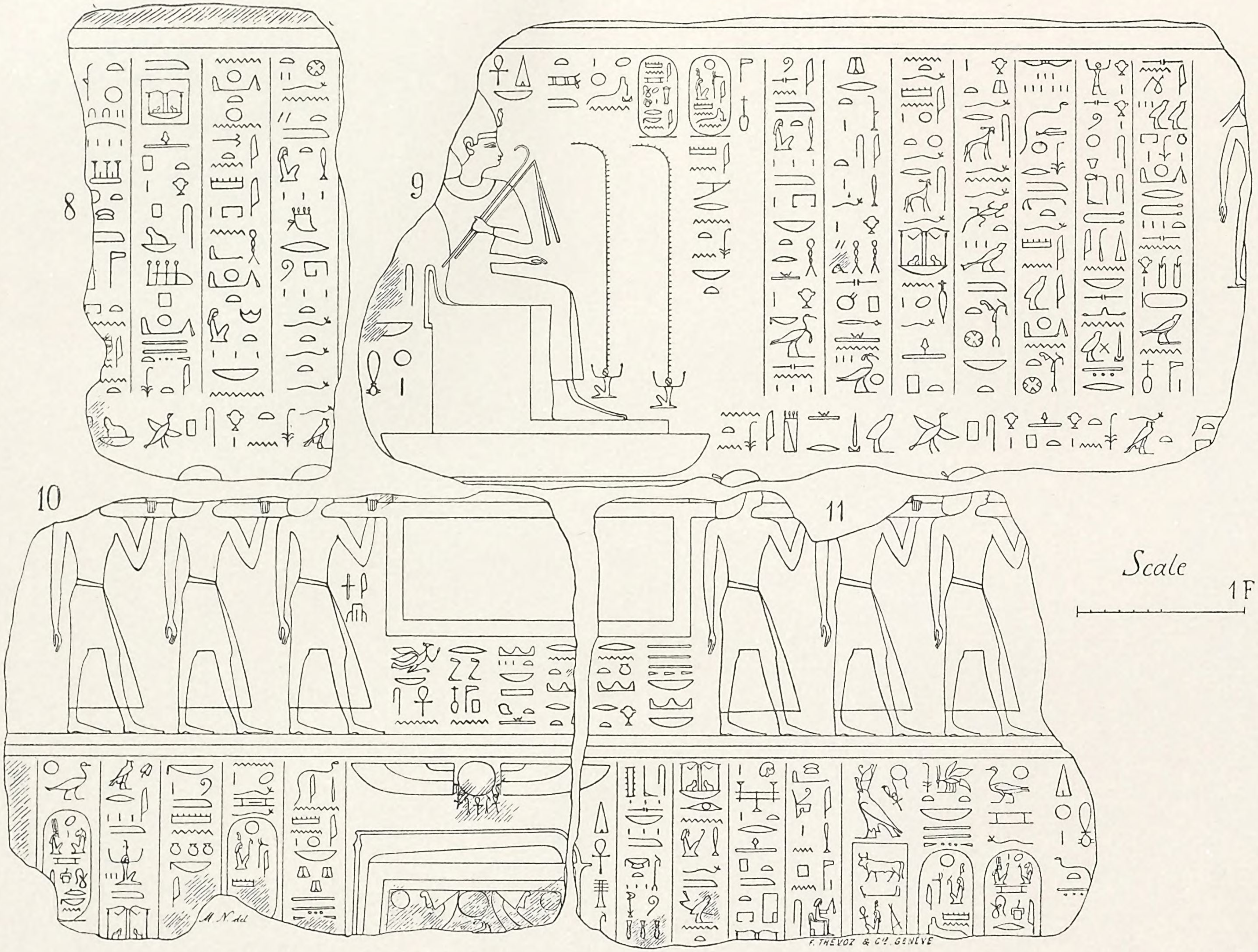
Scale
M. N. del.
F. THÉVOZ & Cie GENÈVE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Scale
1F
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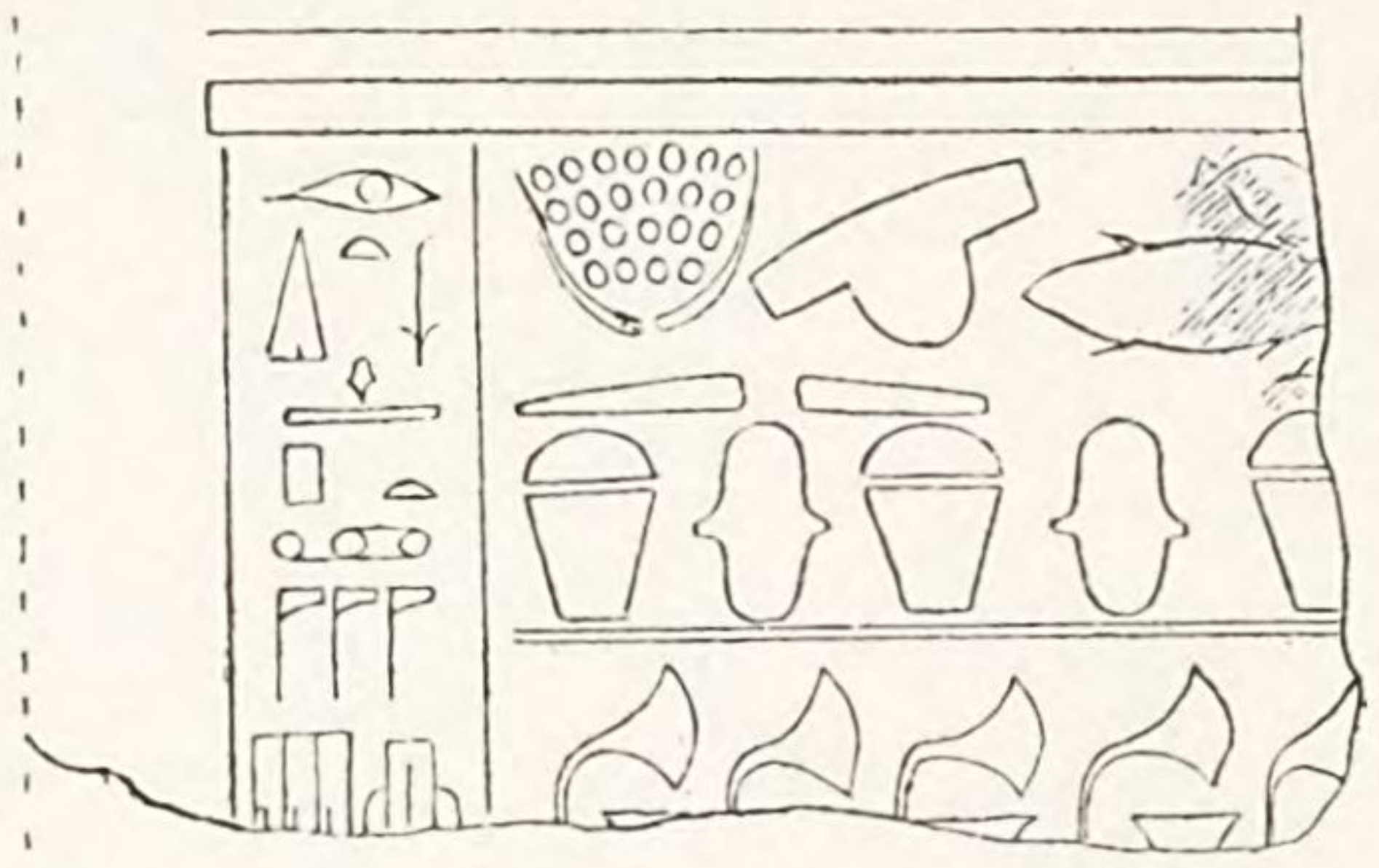

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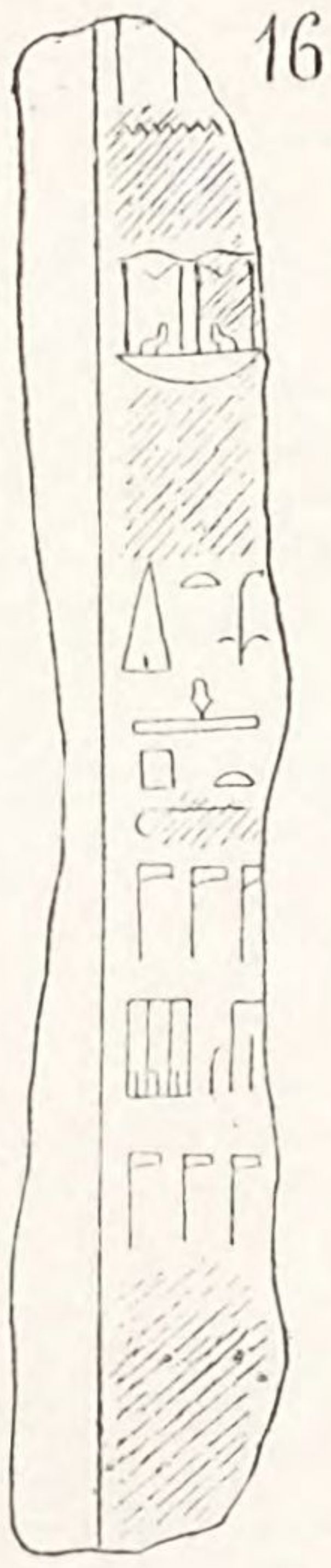

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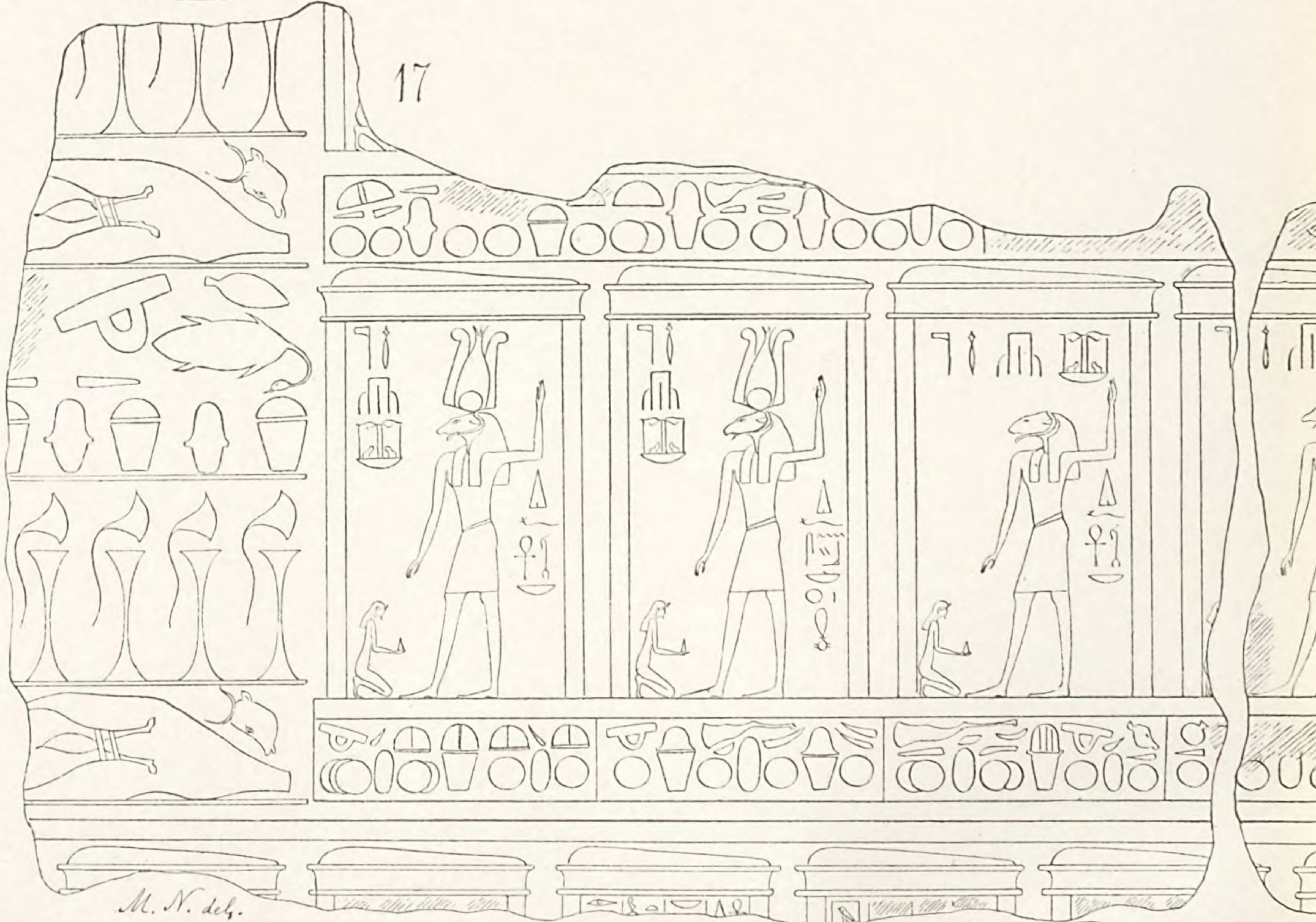

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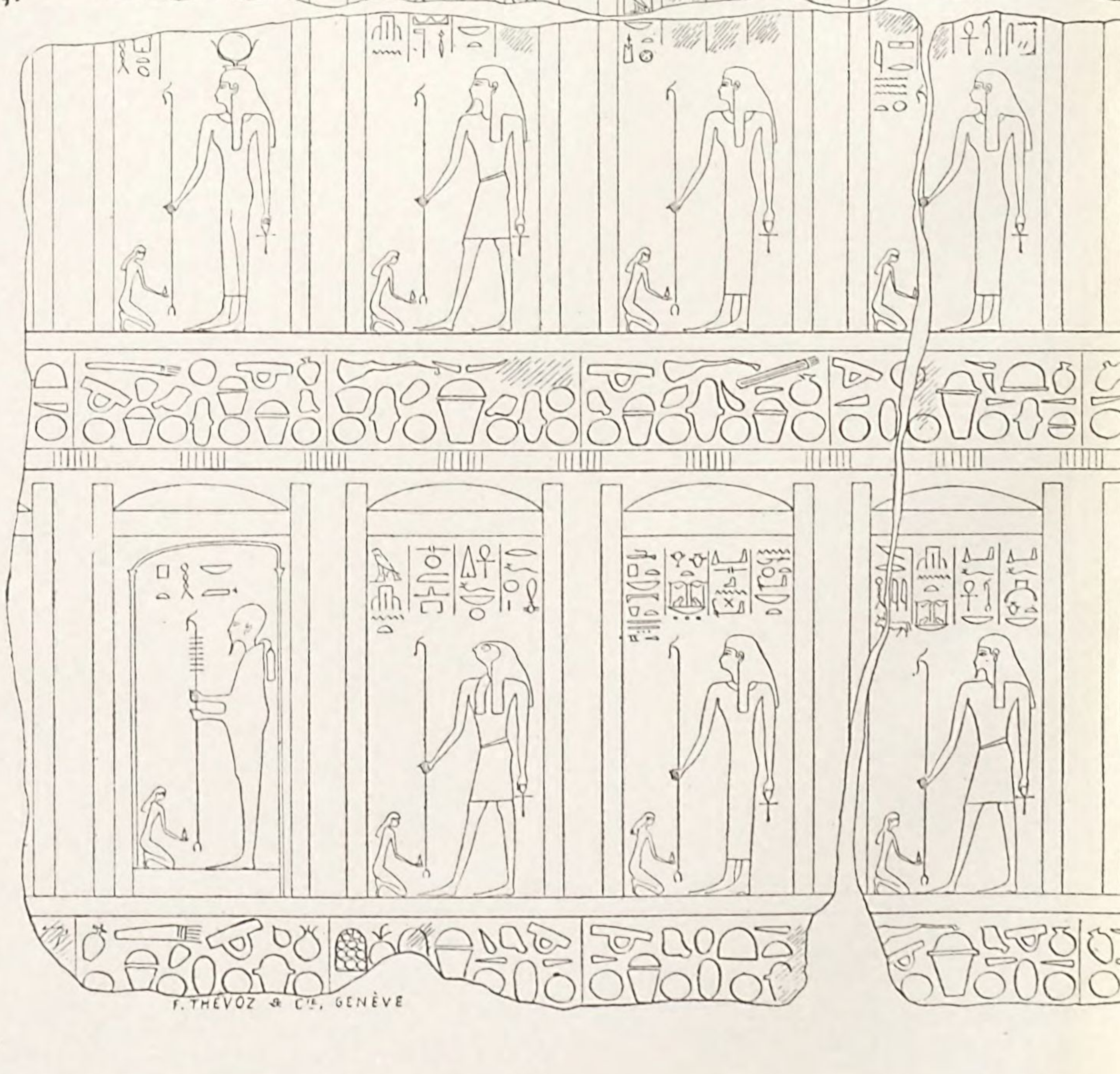

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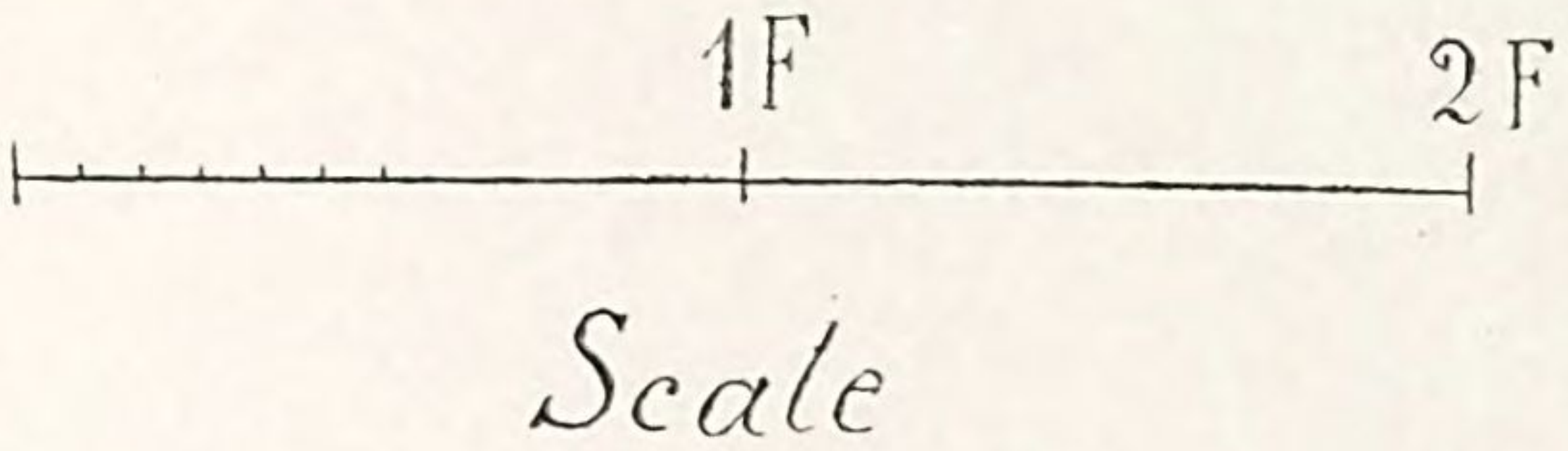
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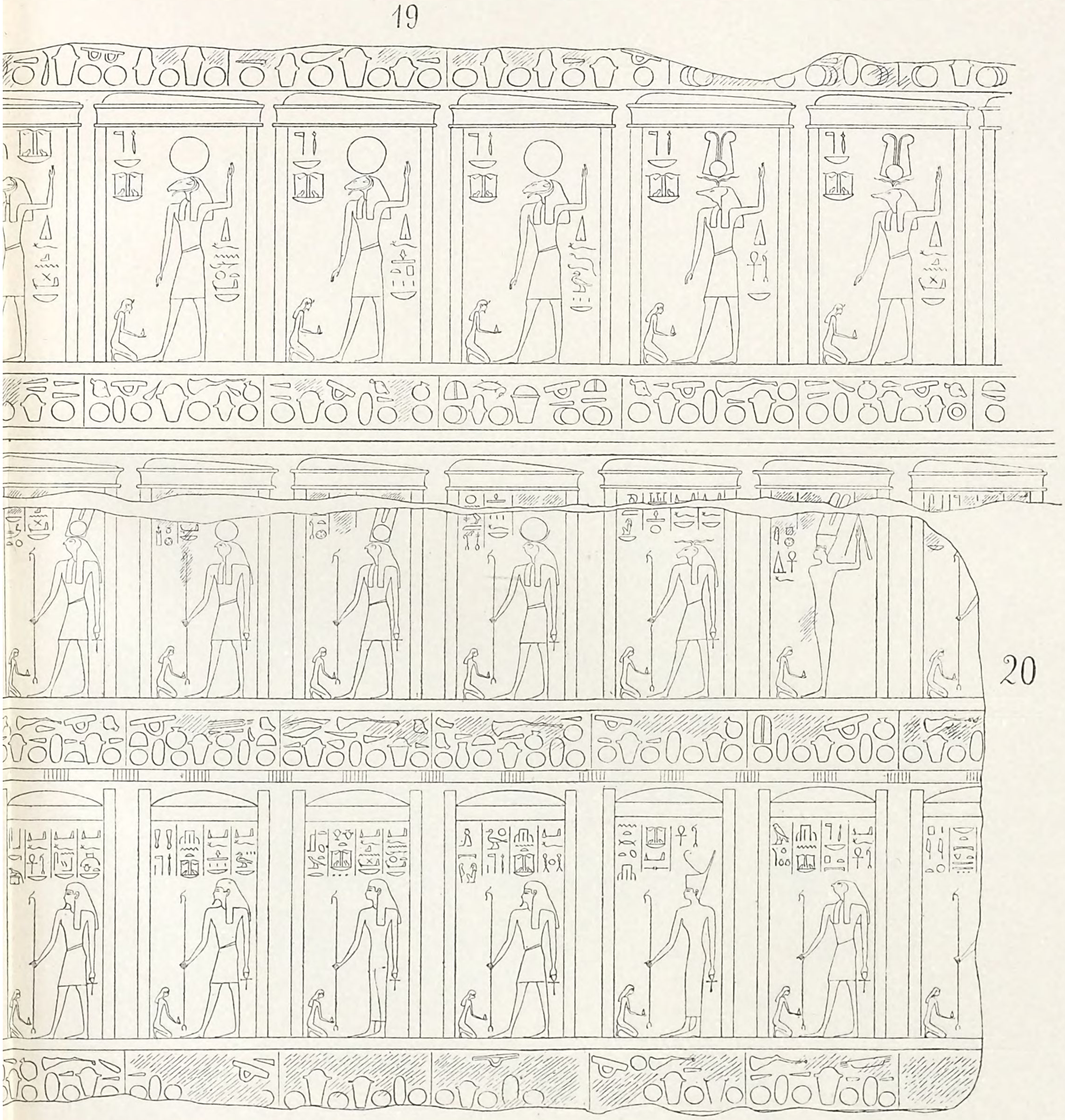
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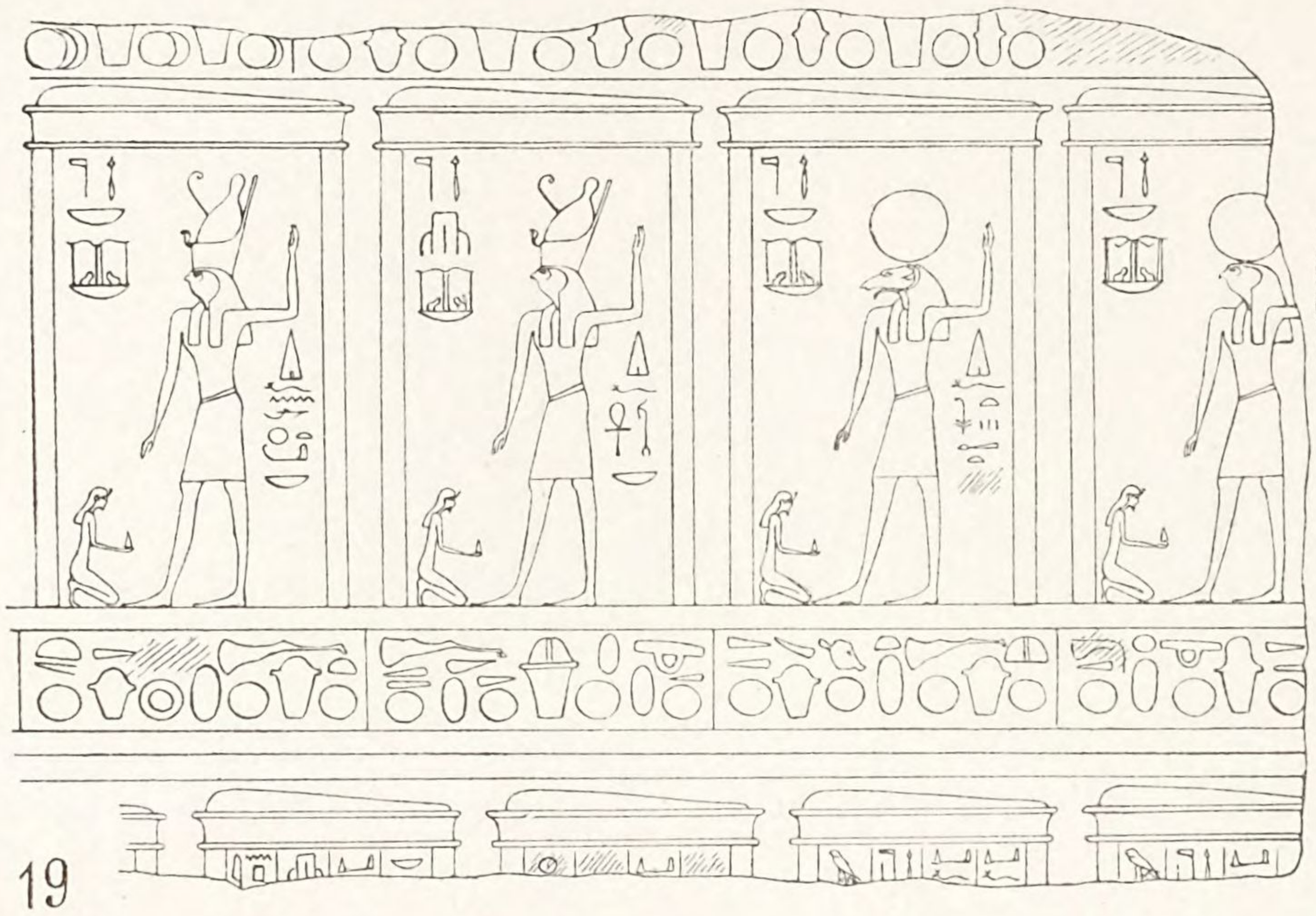

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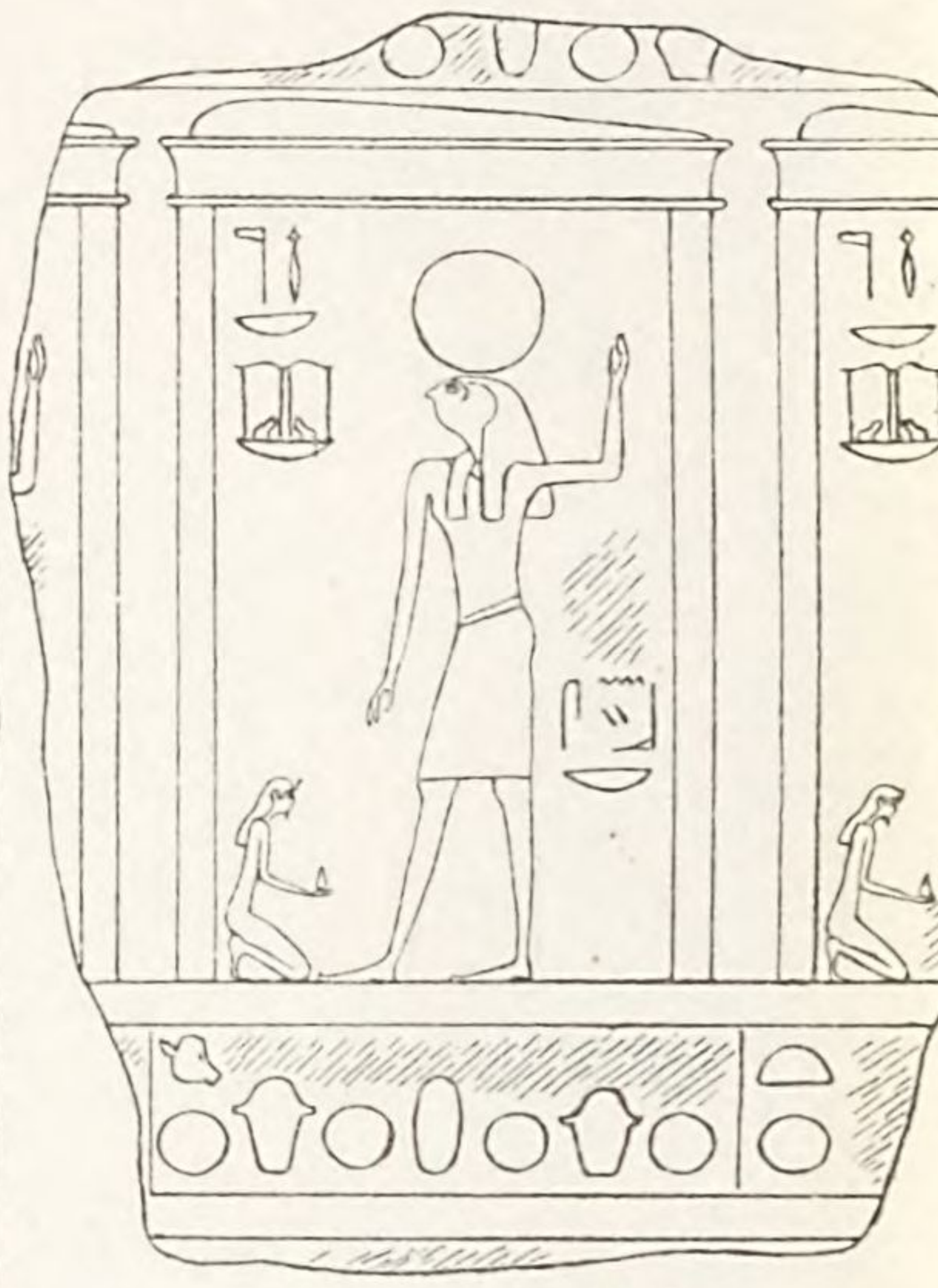

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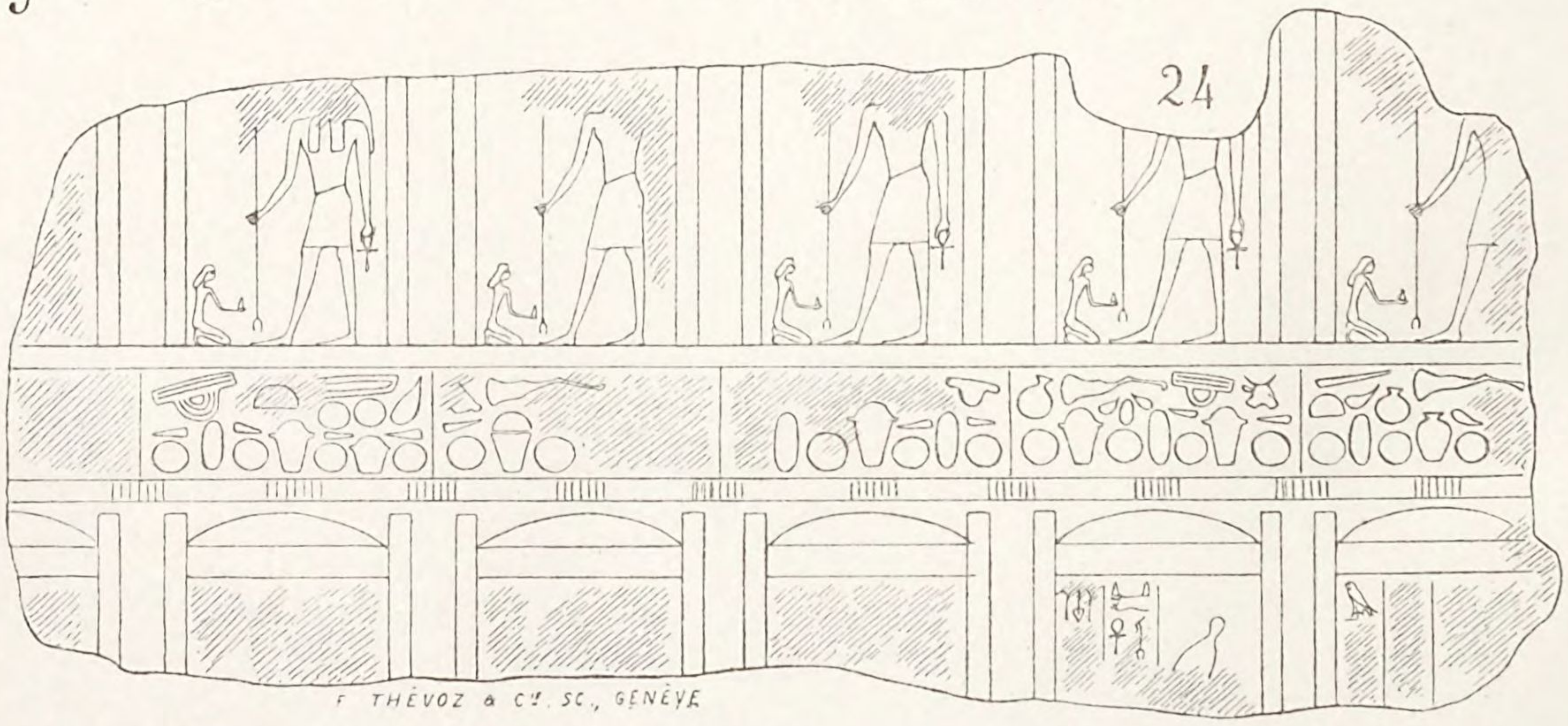

F. THÉVOZ & Cie. SC., GENÈVE

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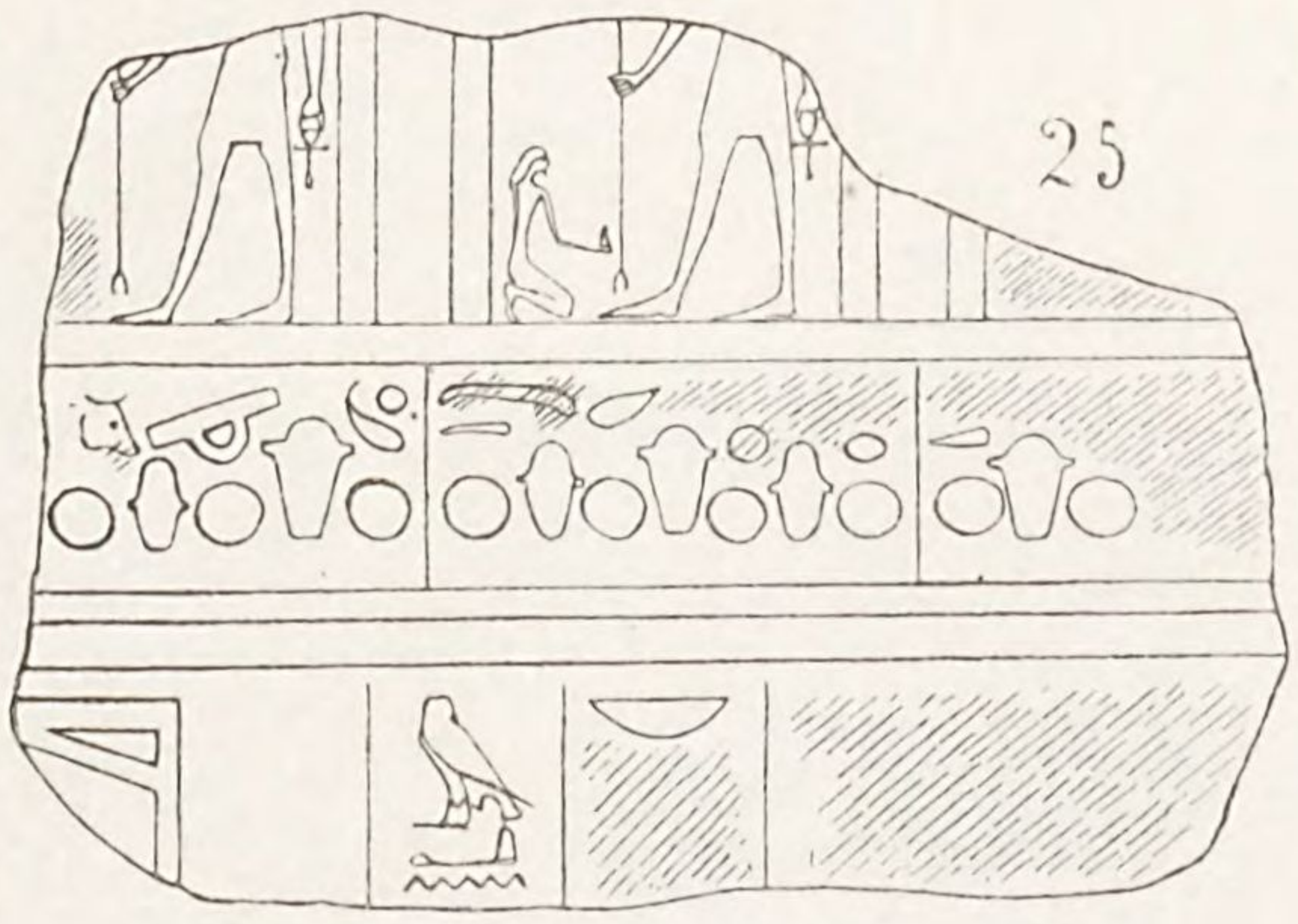

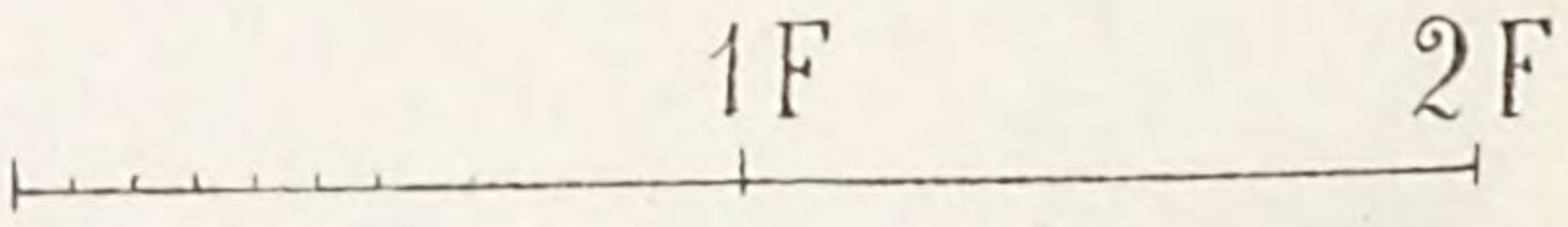

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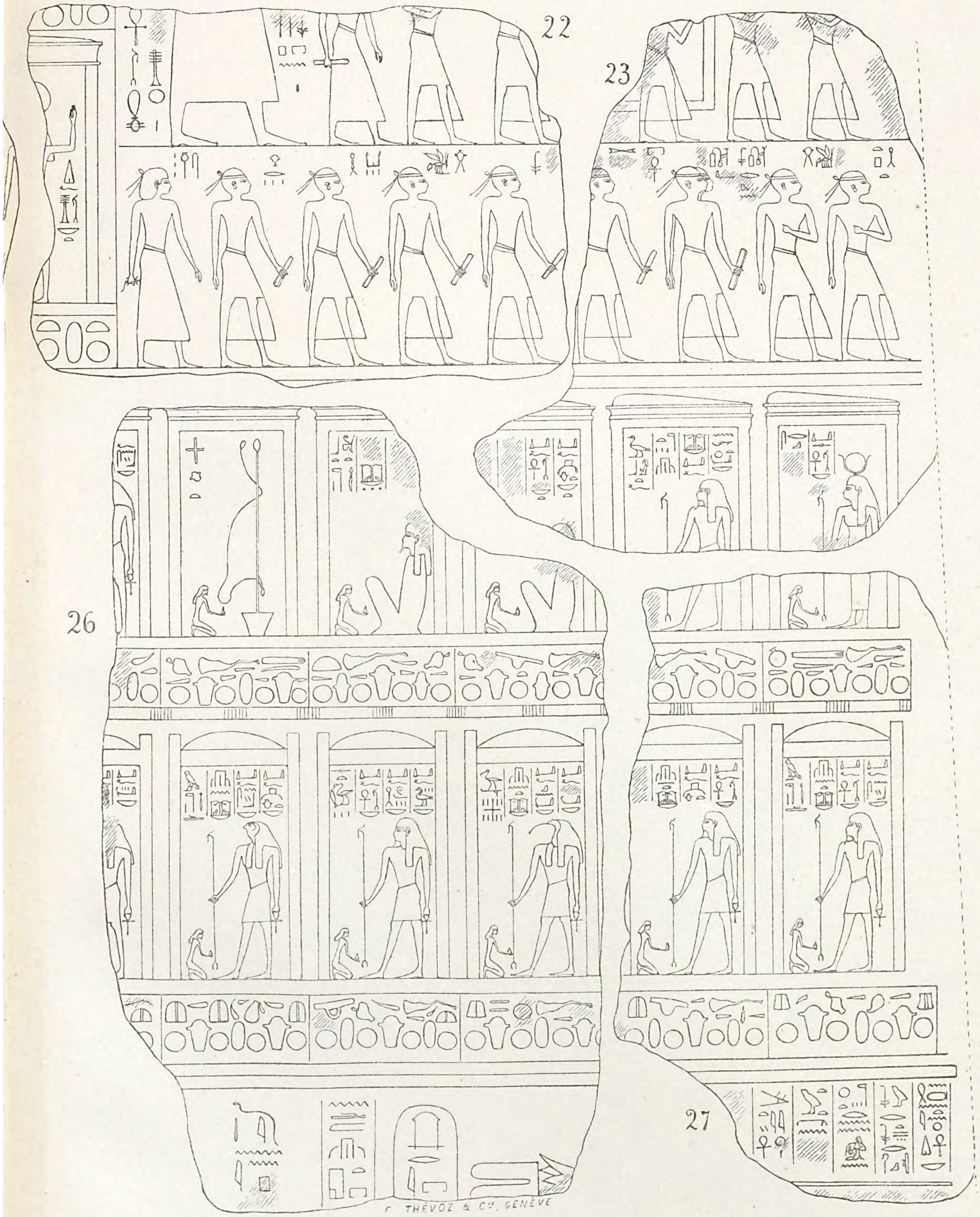

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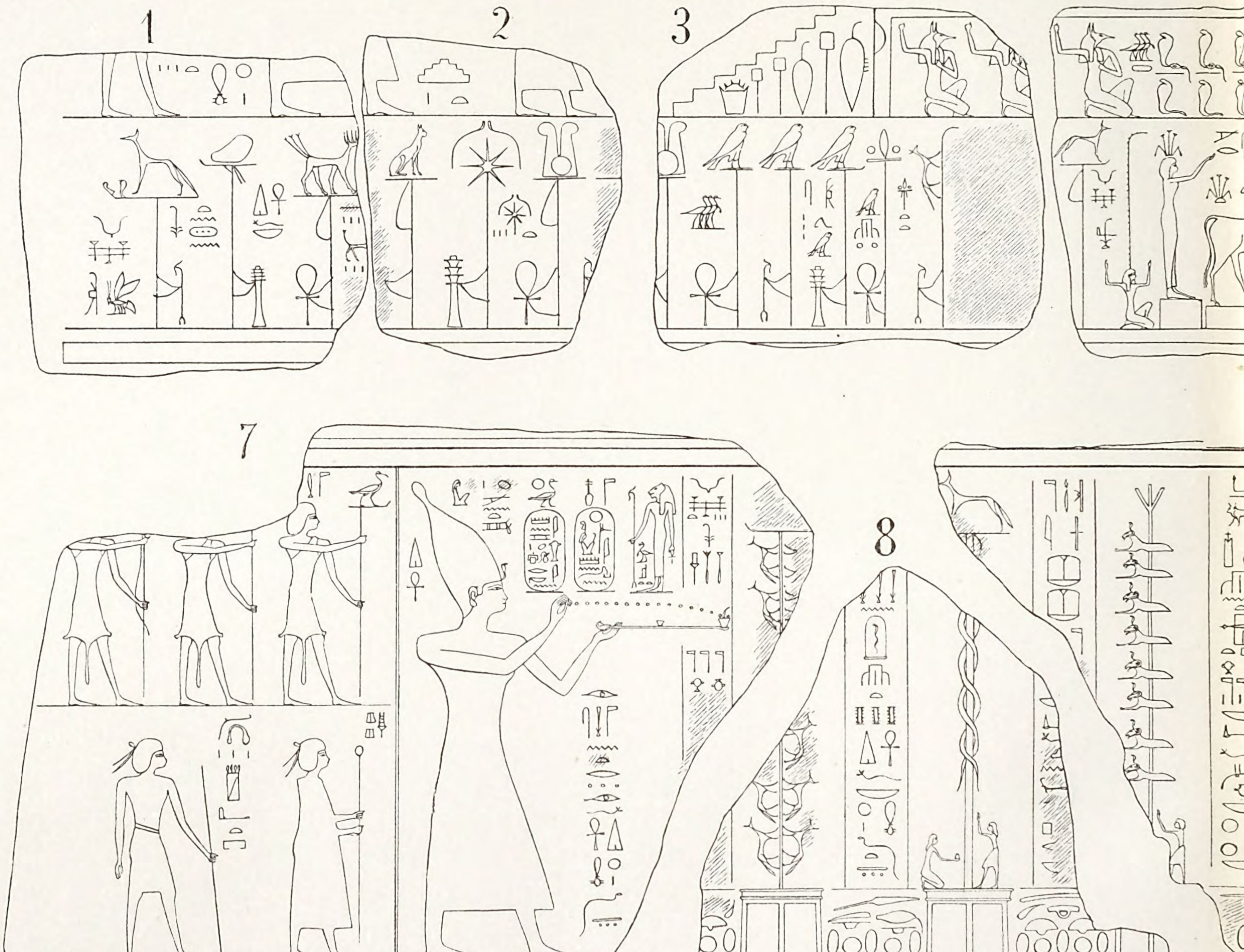
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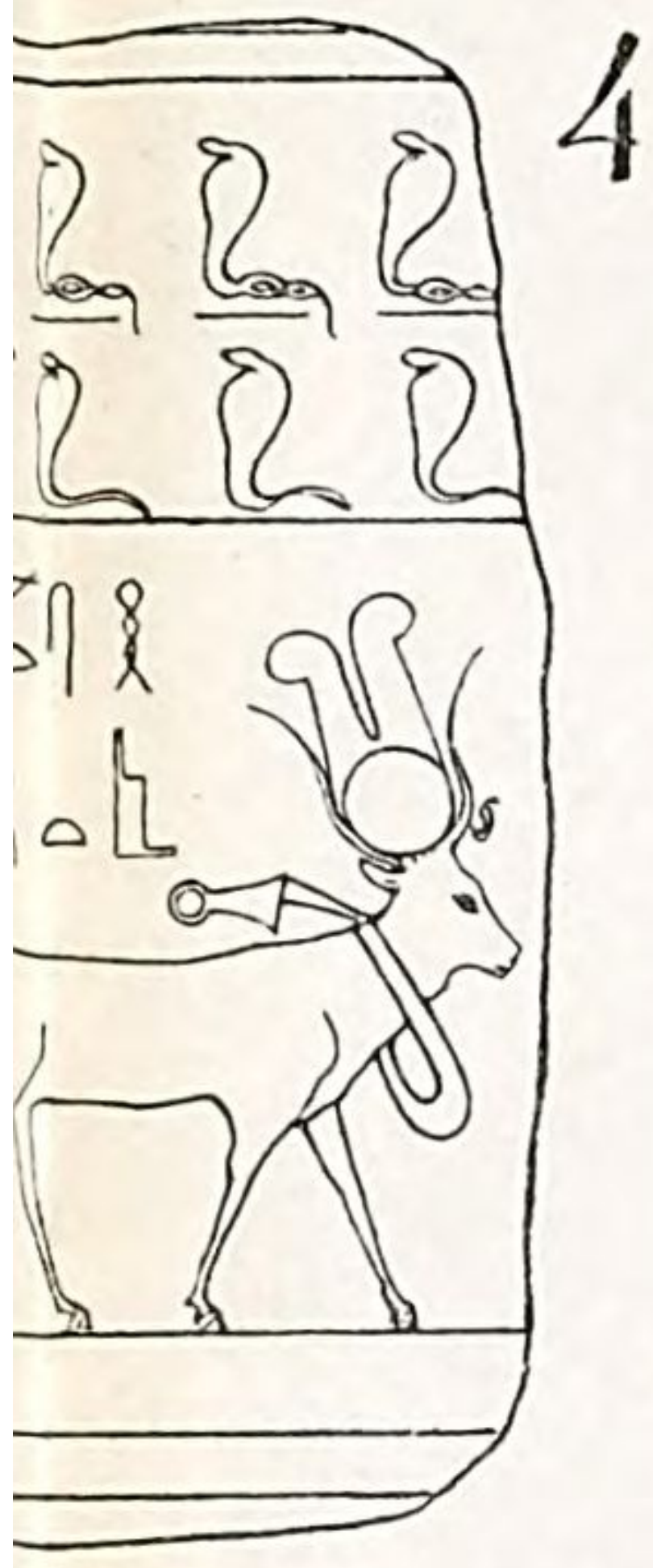
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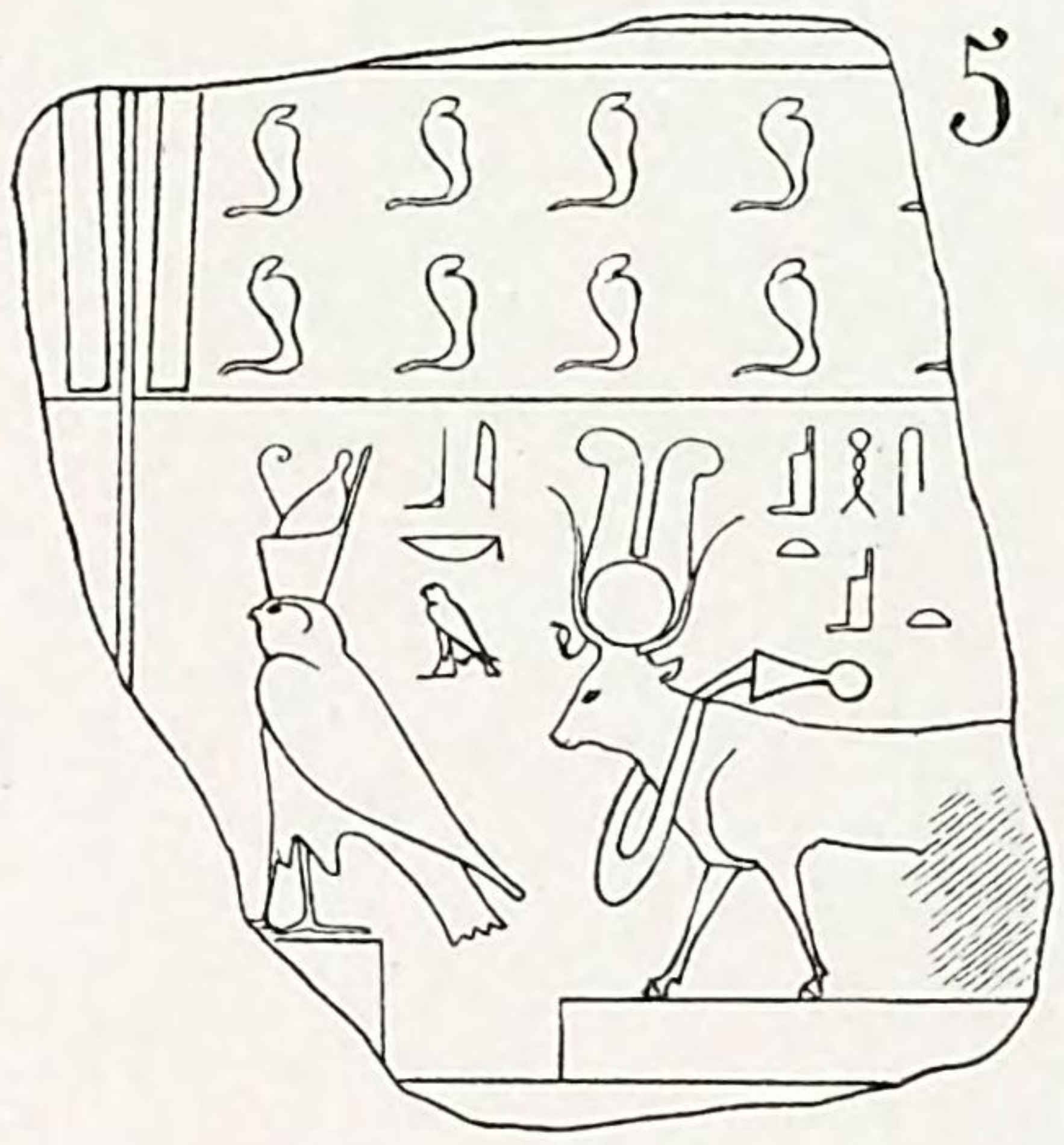
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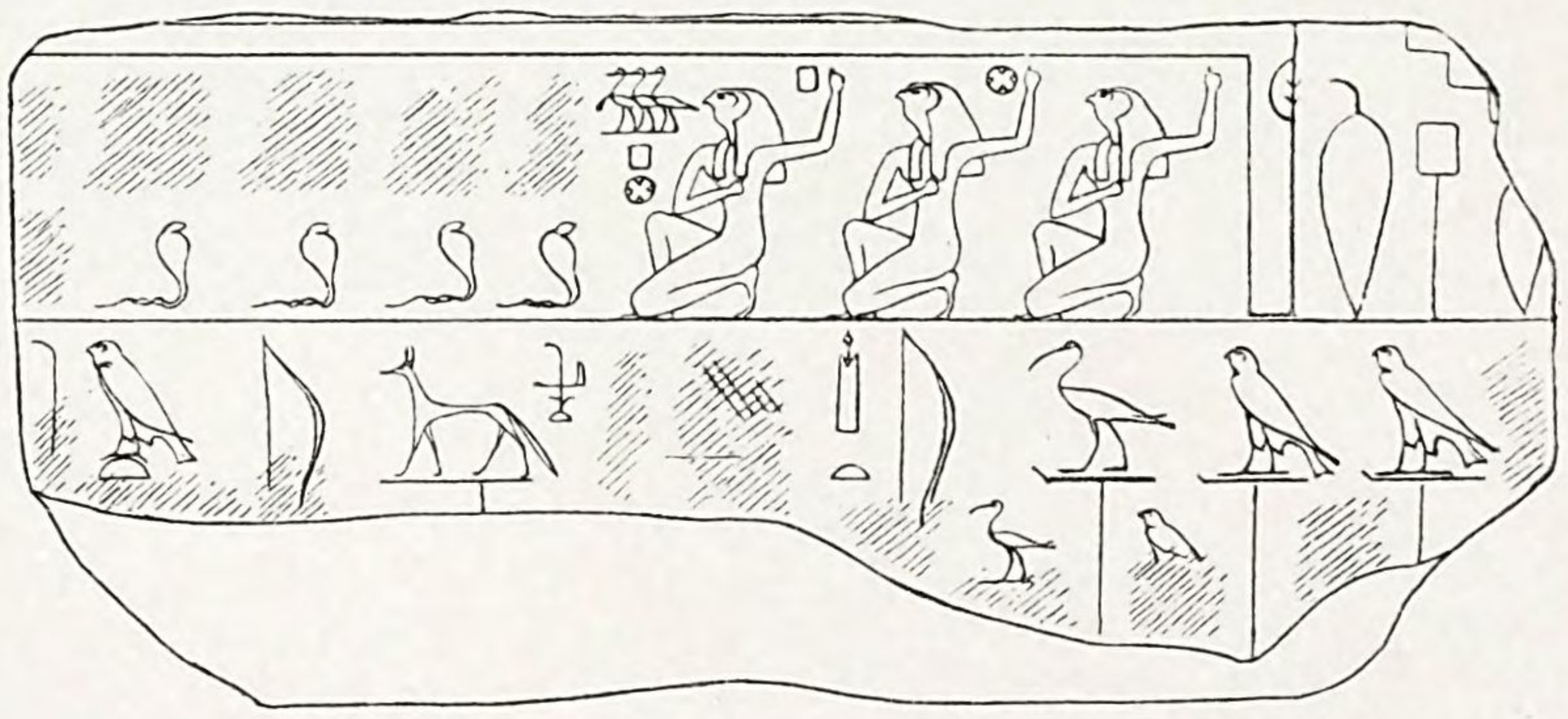
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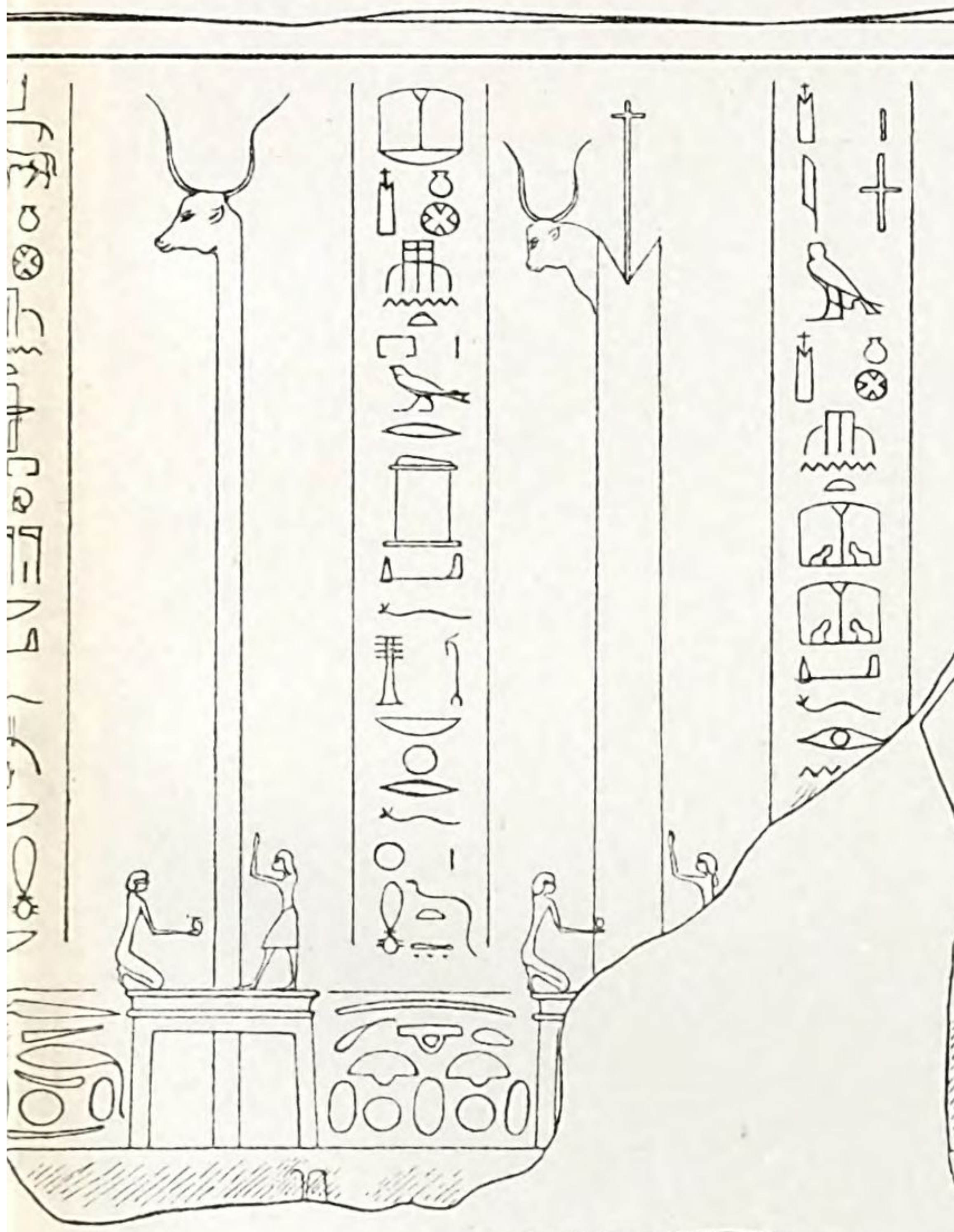
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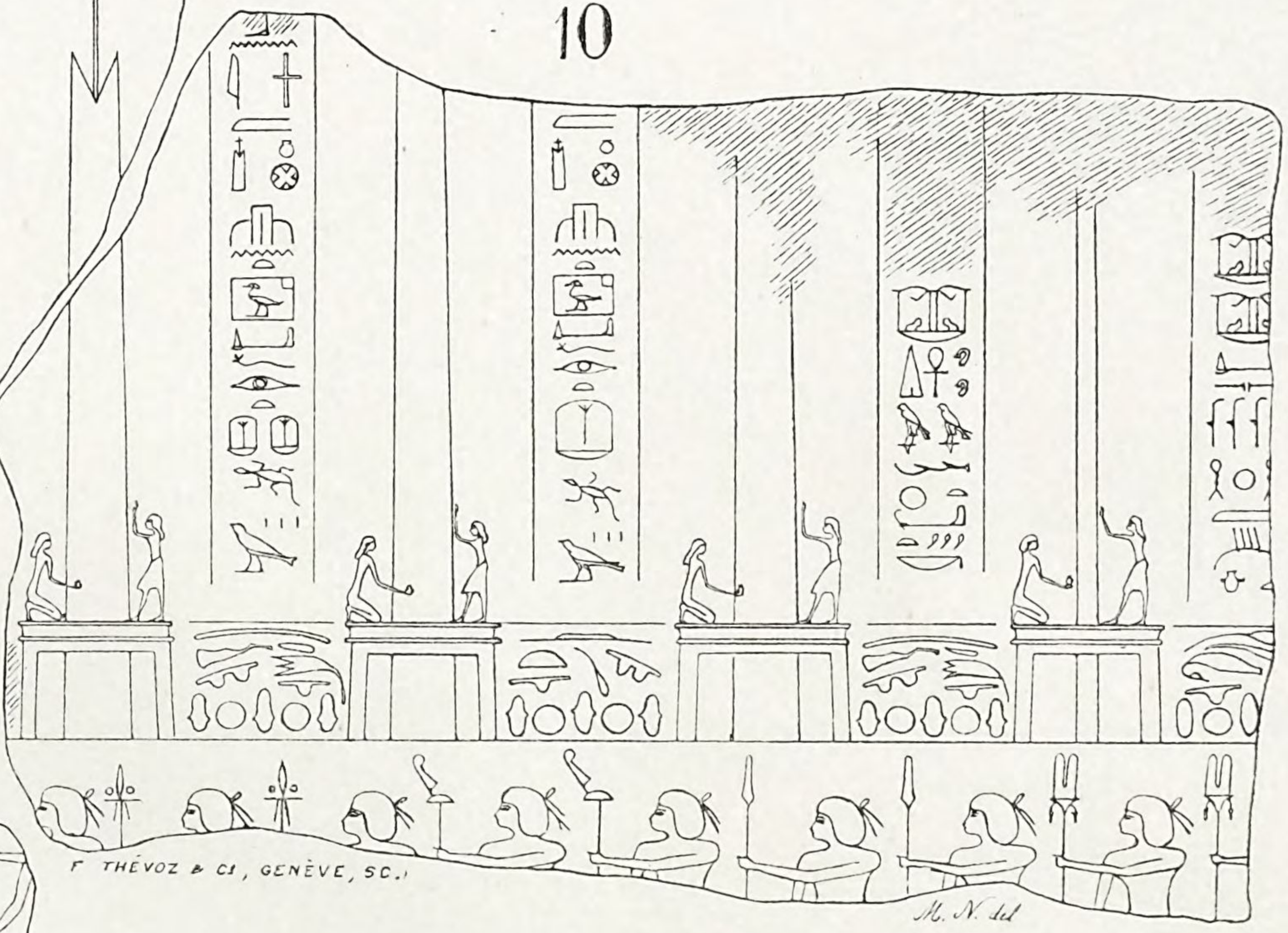
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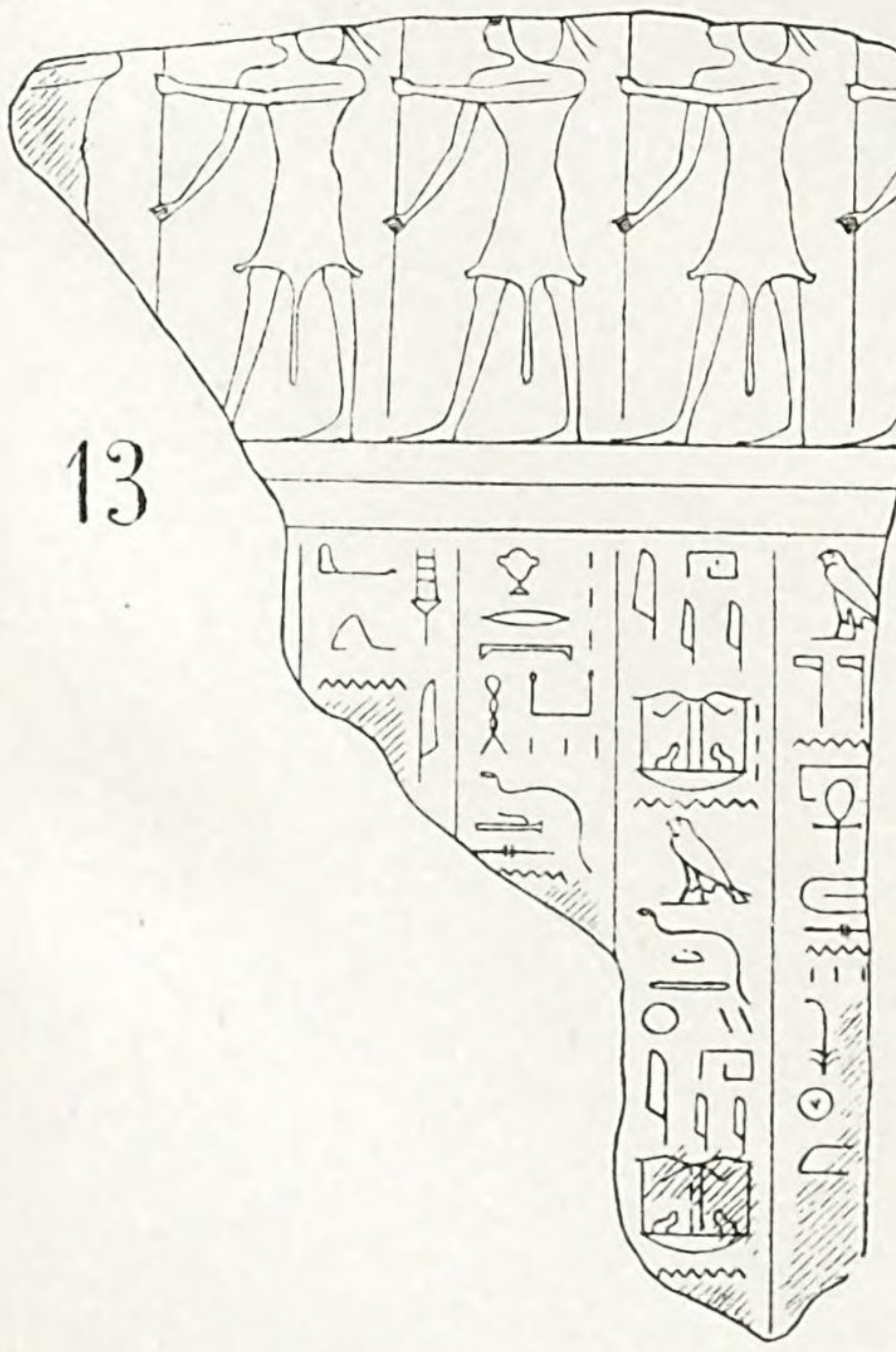
F. THÉVOZ & Cie, GENÈVE, SC.

M. N. del.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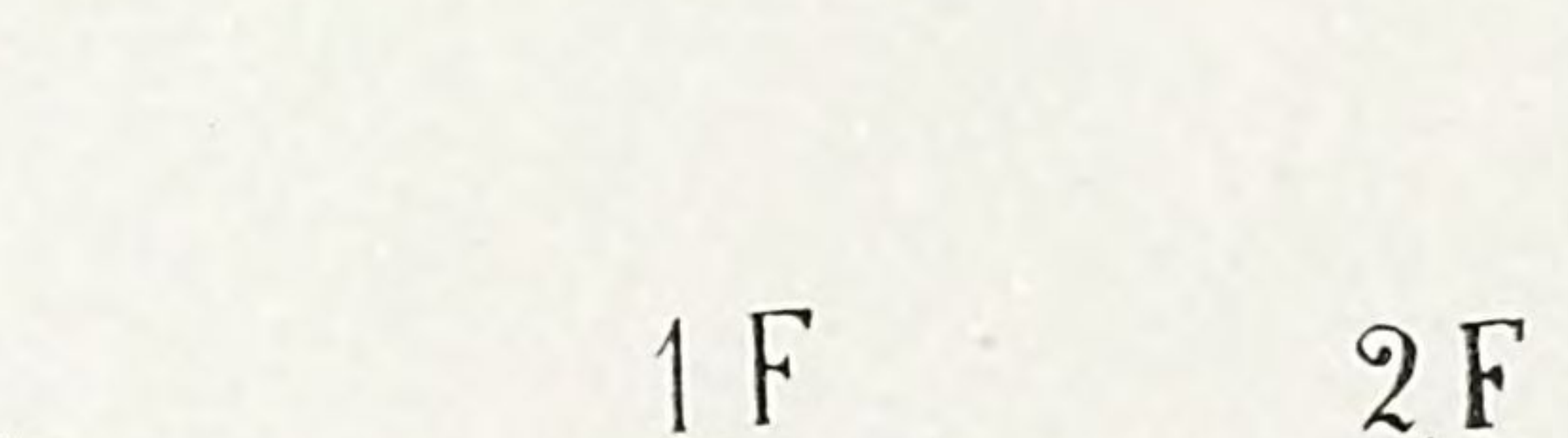

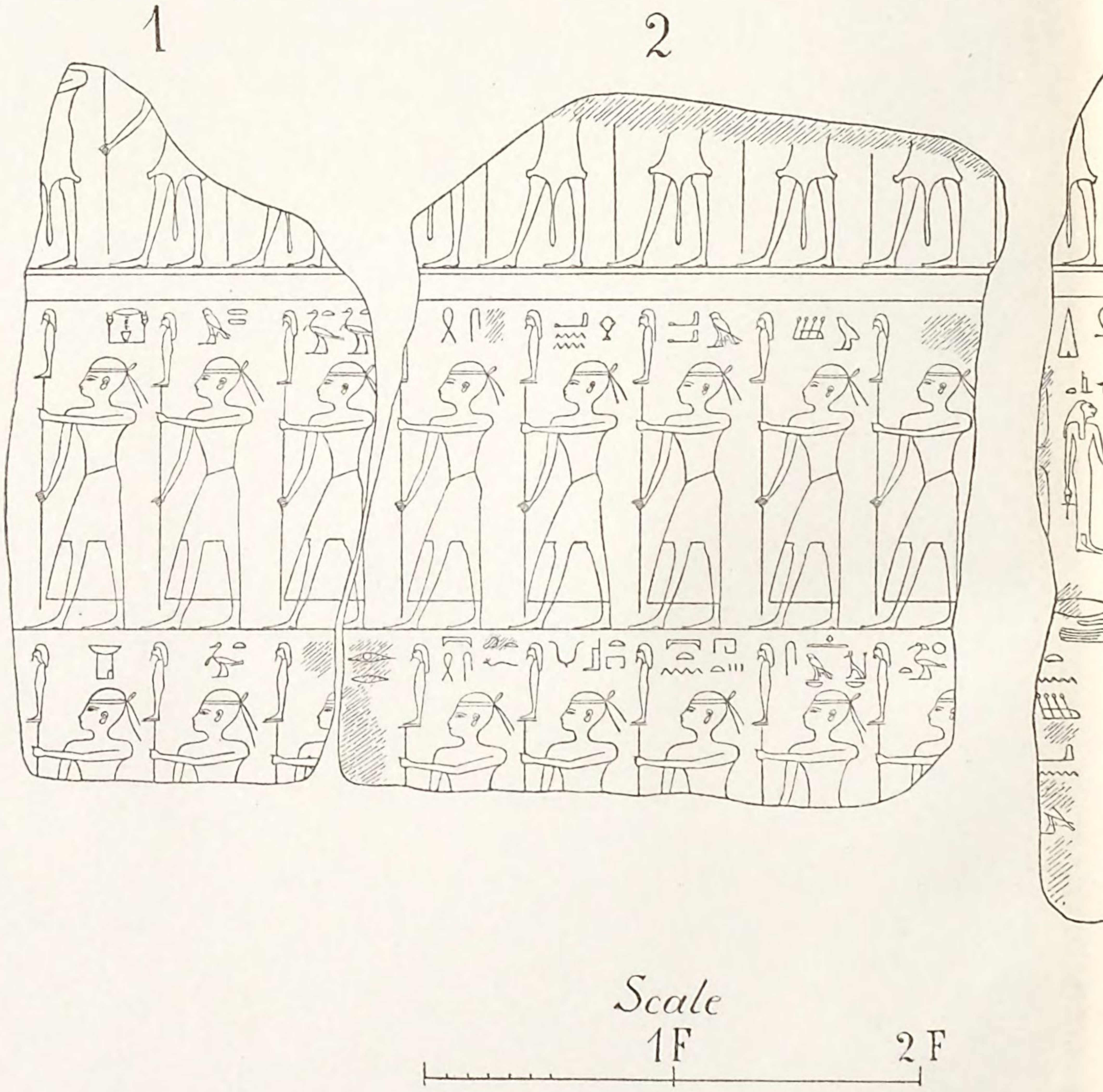
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Scale
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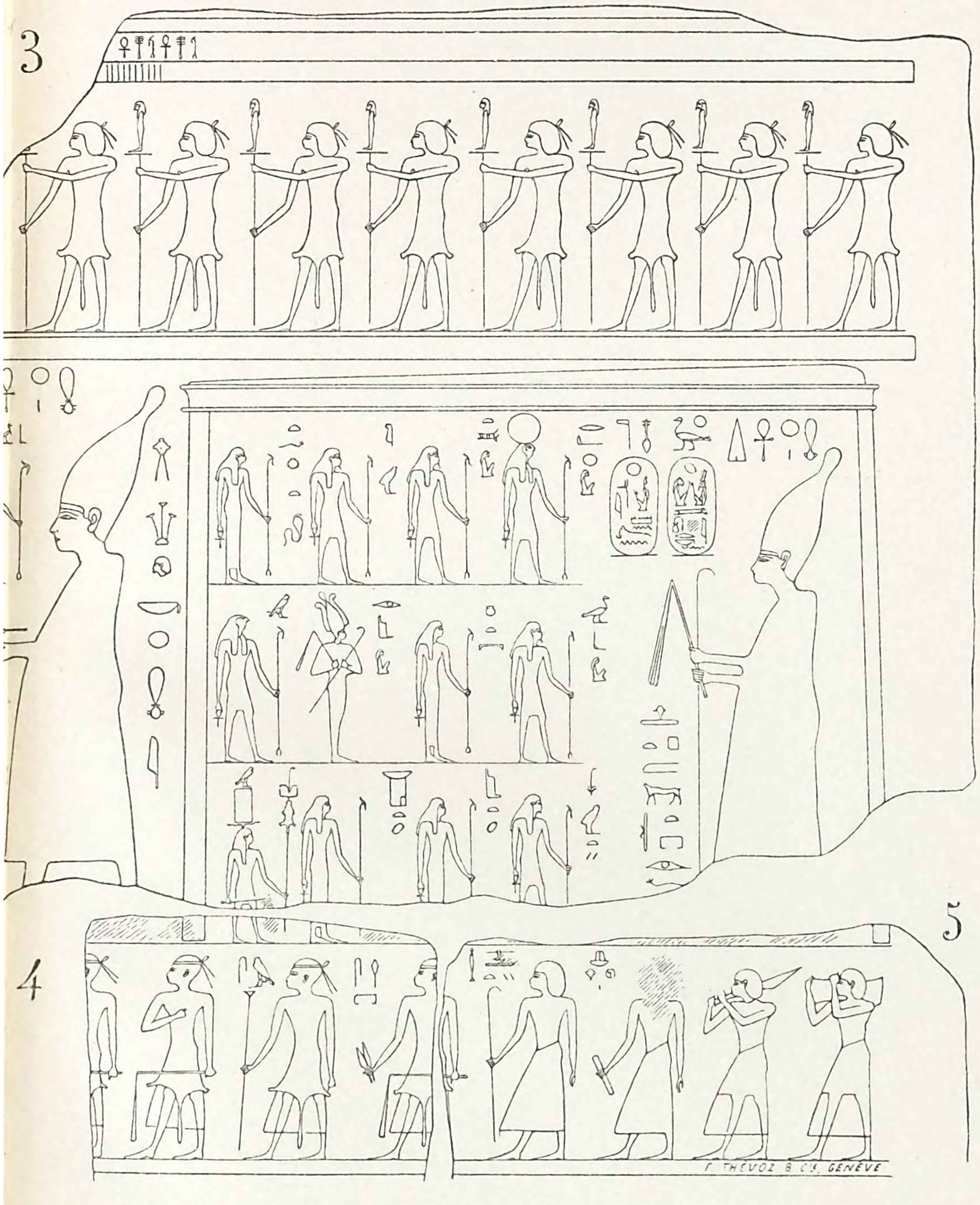
Pl. X.

3



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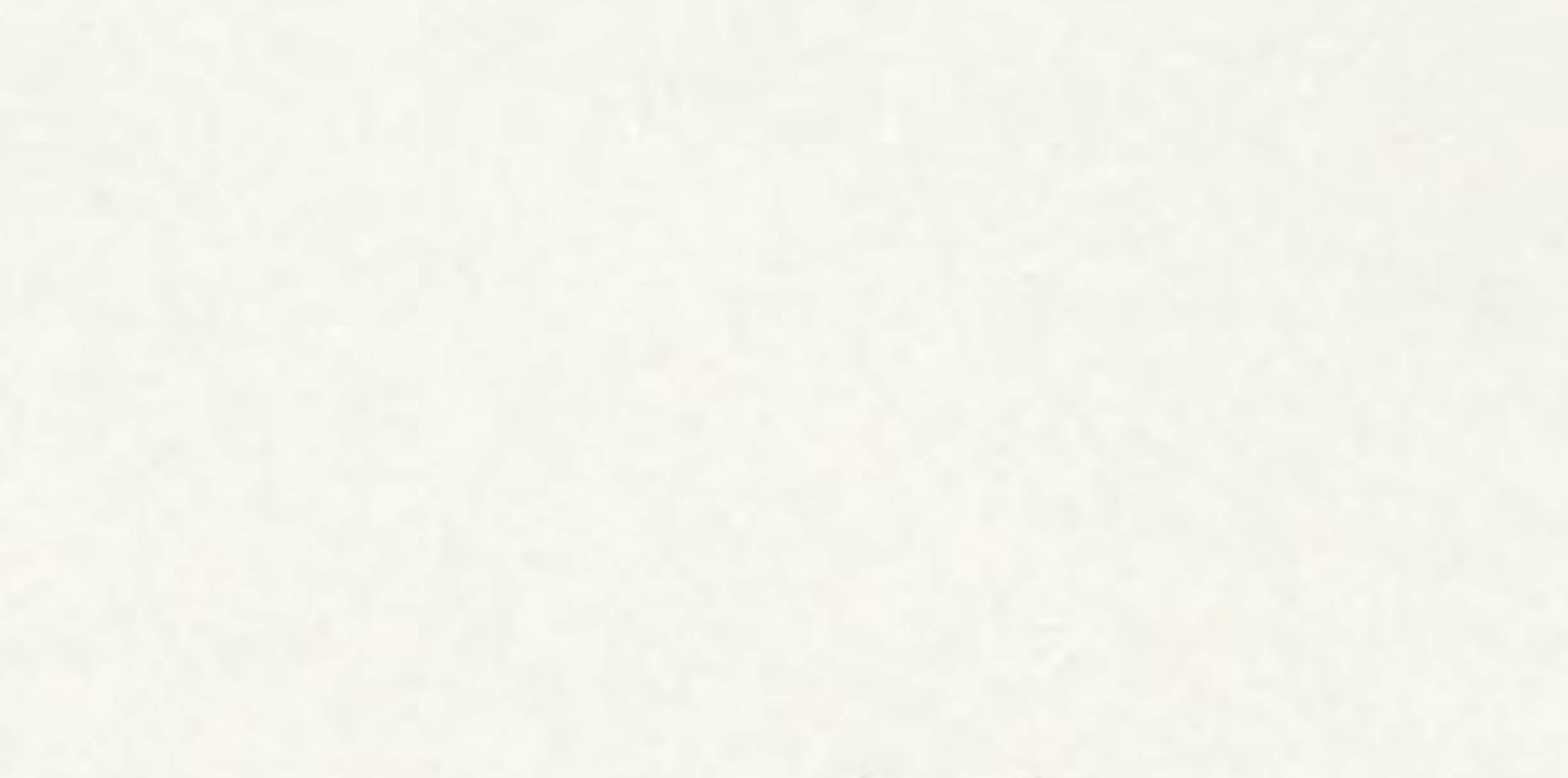

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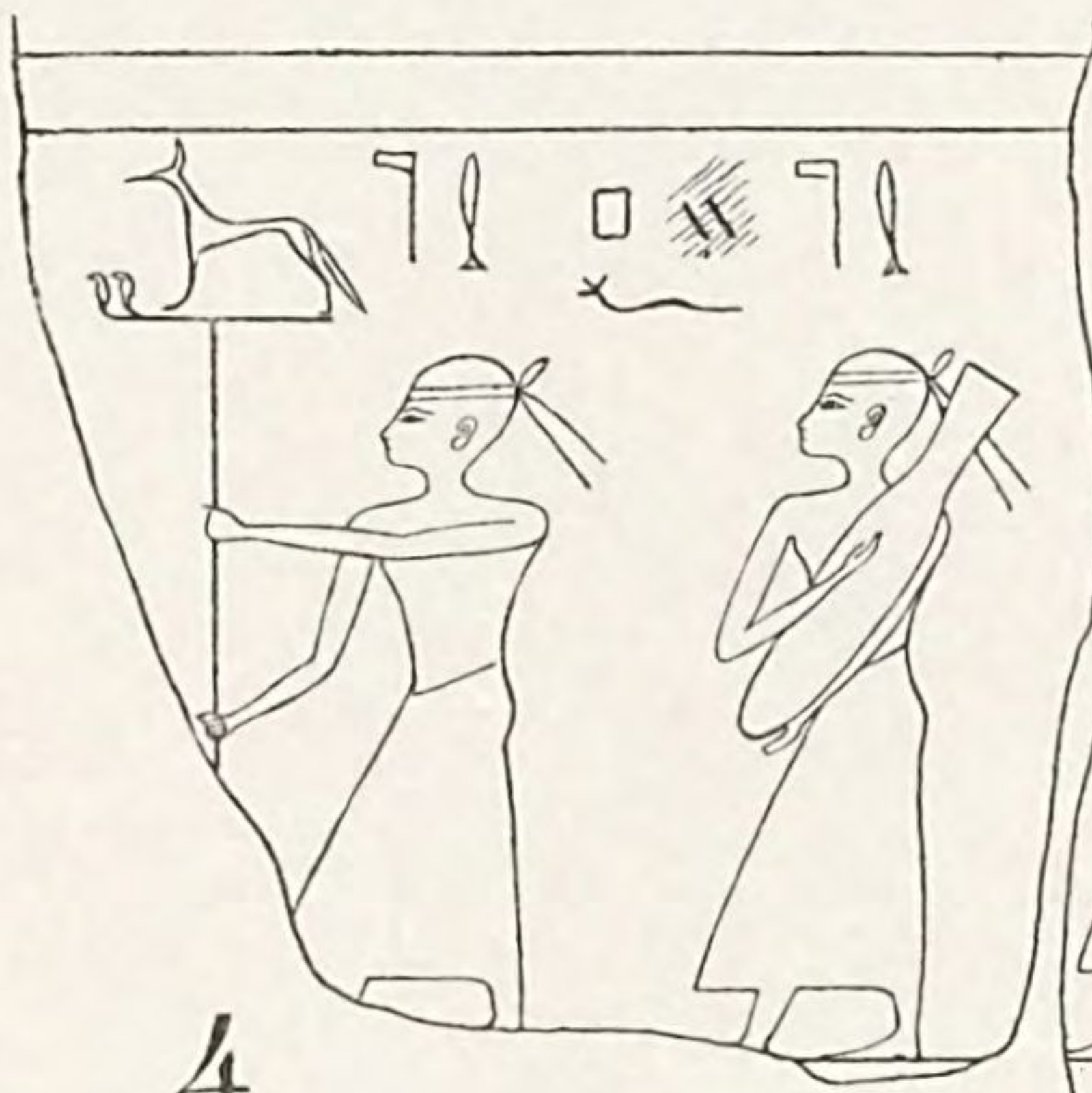

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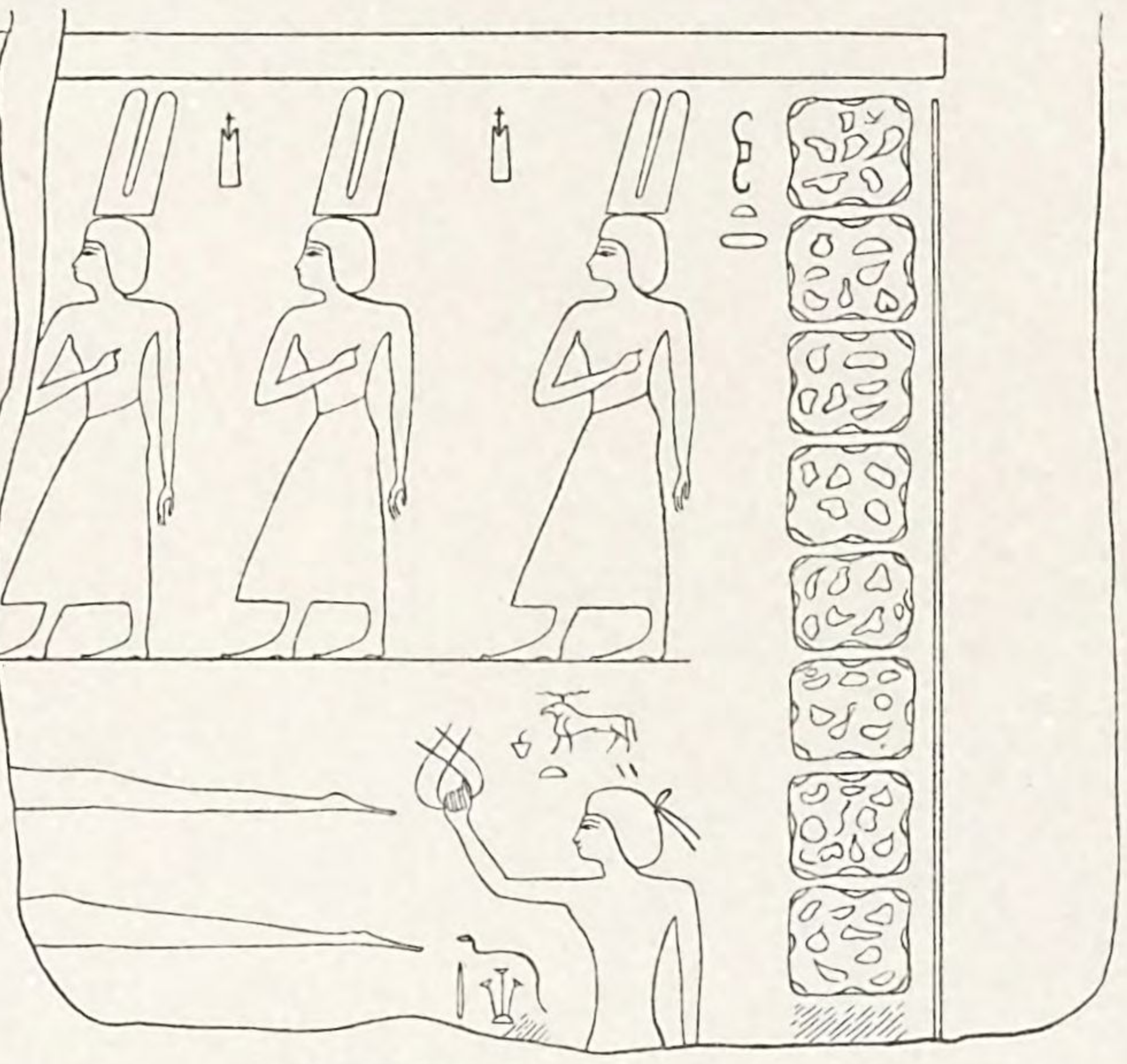

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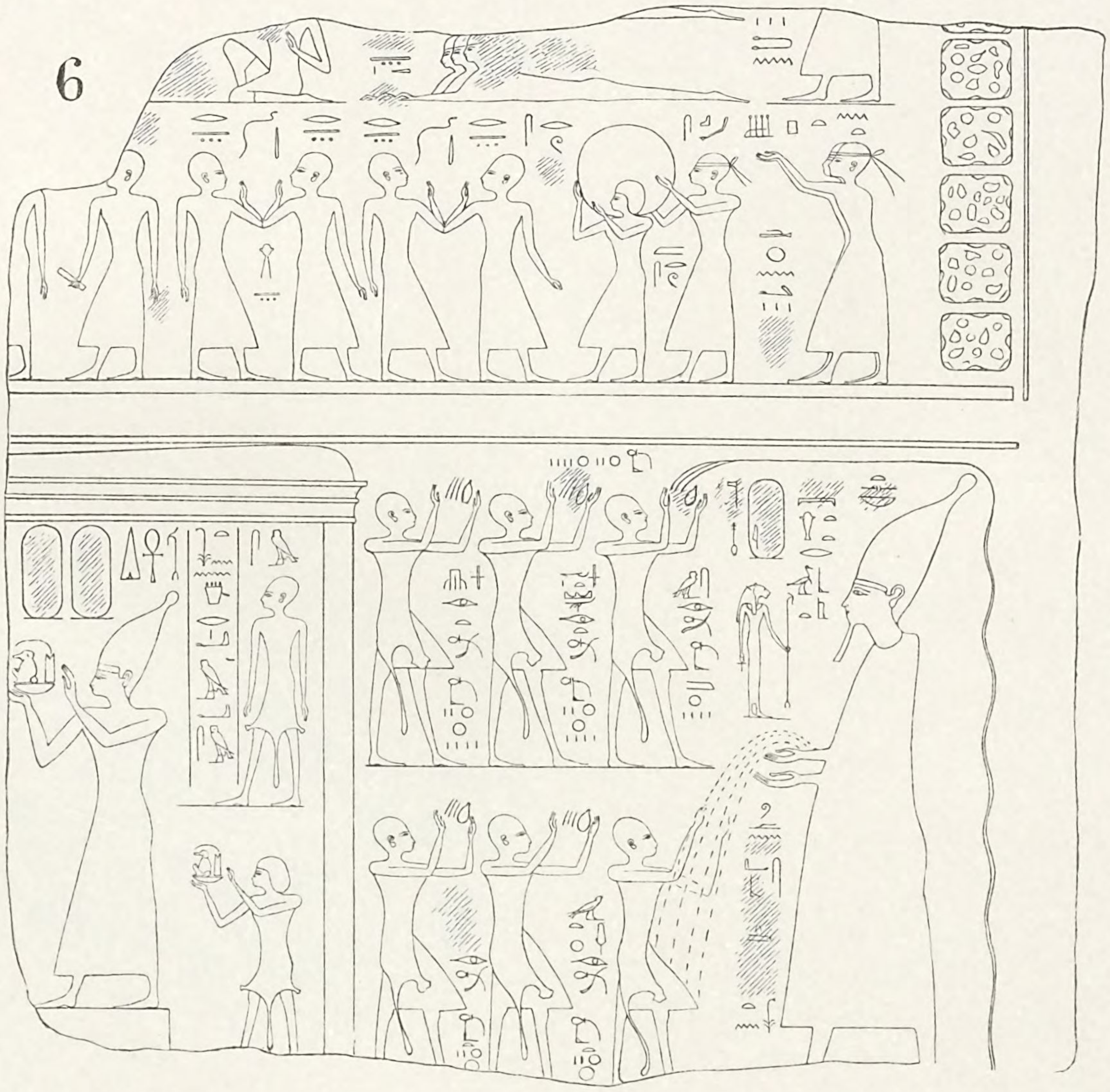

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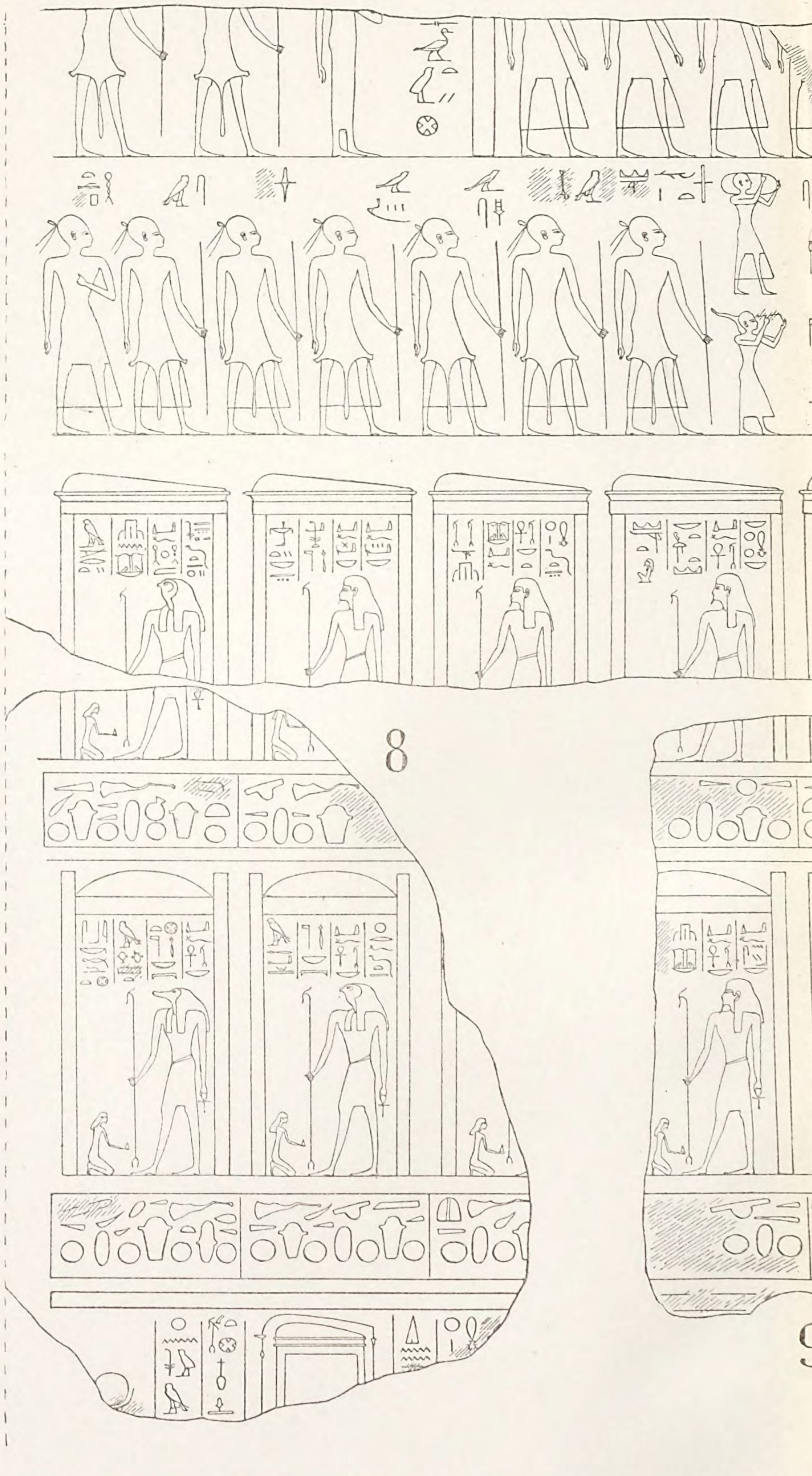
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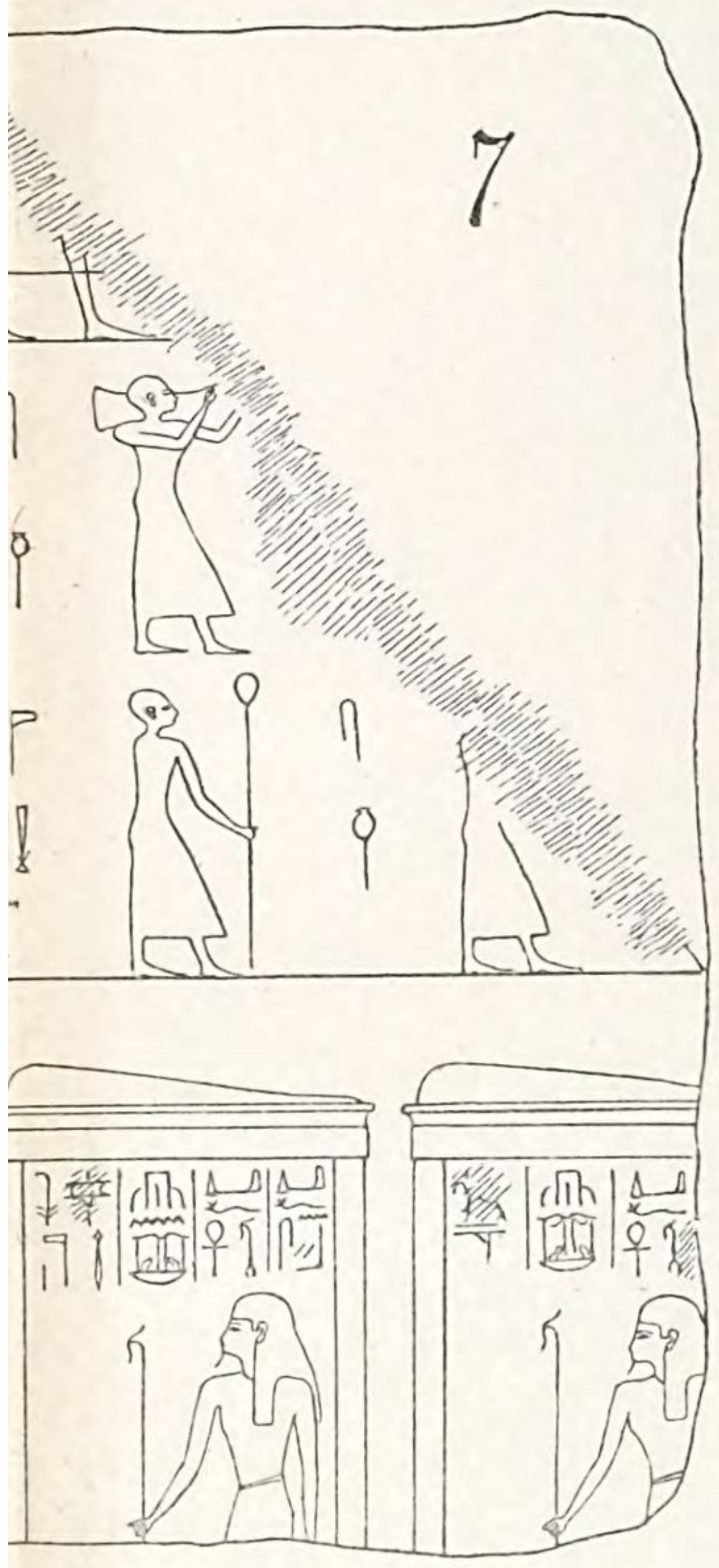

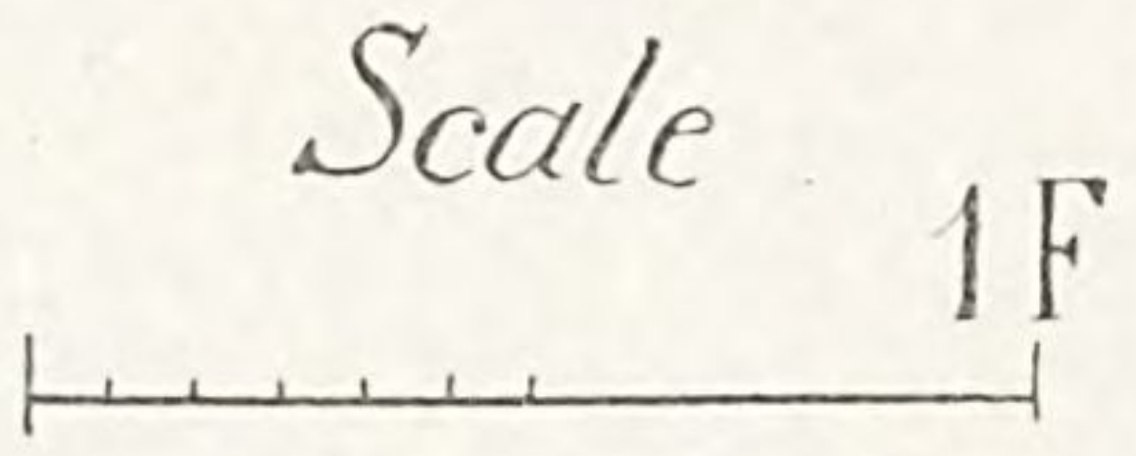

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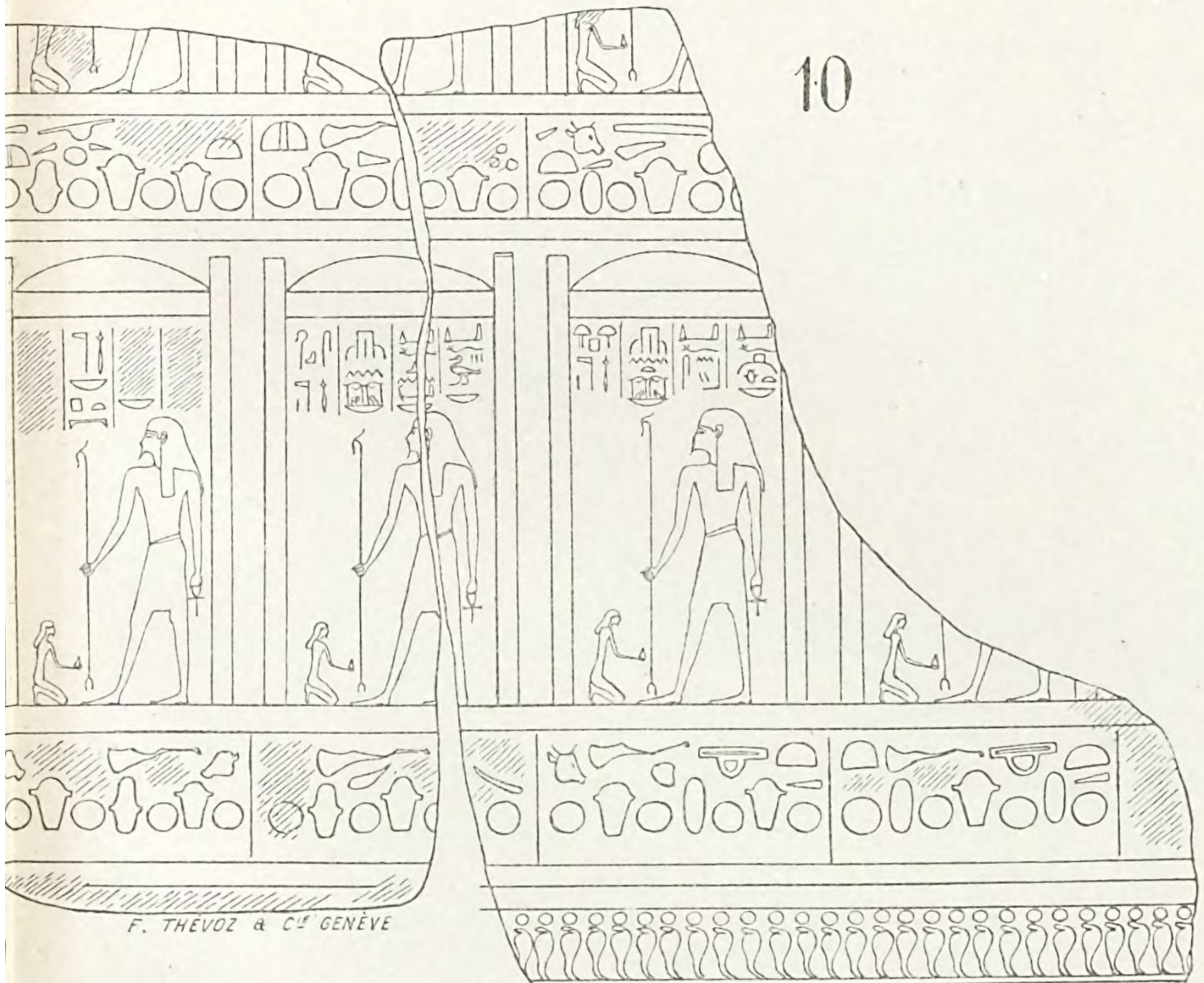
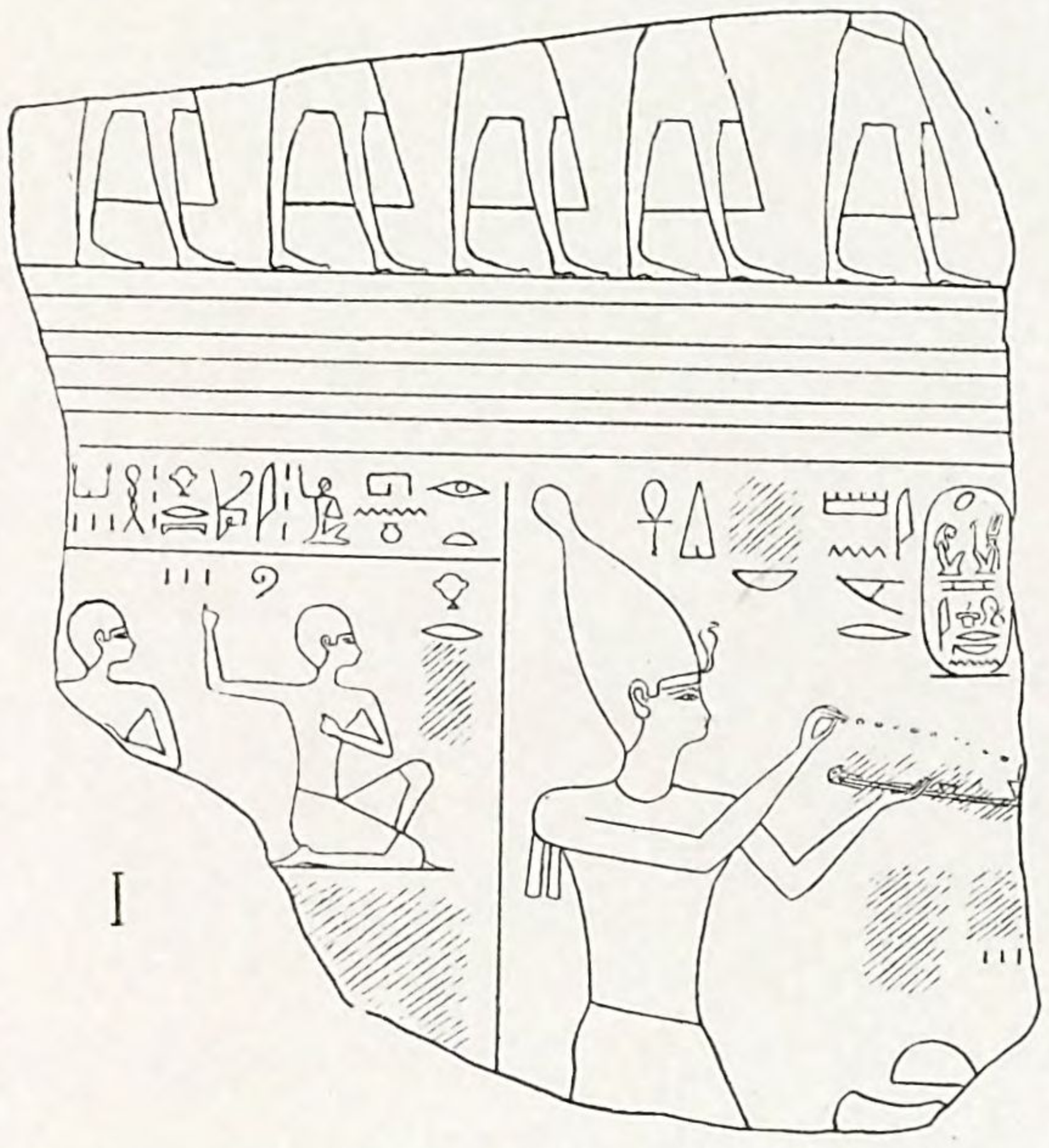


F. THEVOZ & Cie GENÈVE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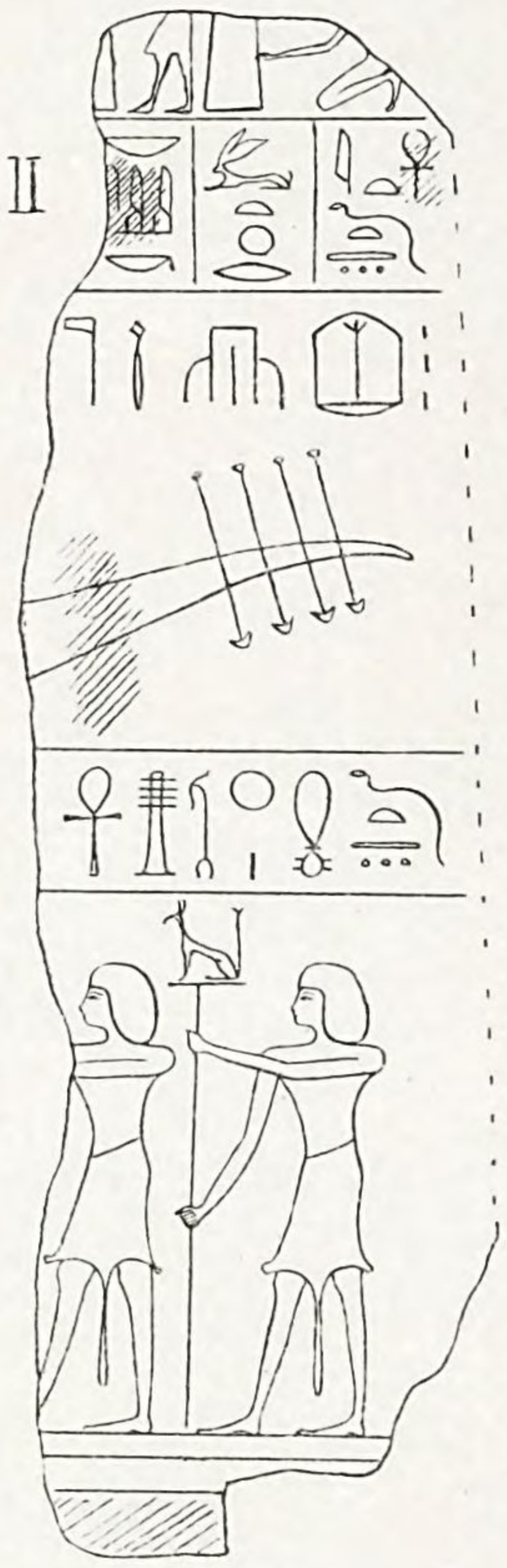
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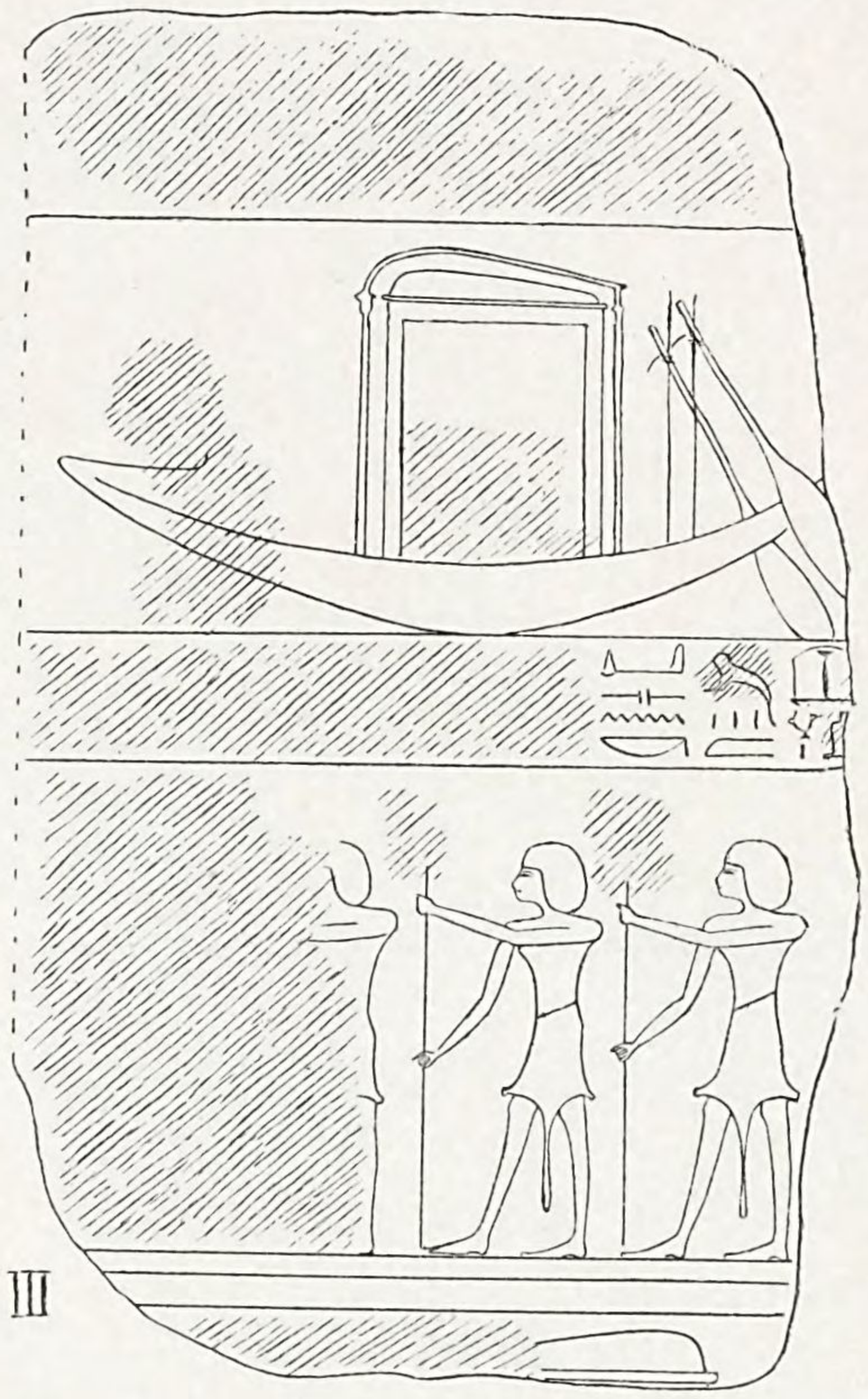
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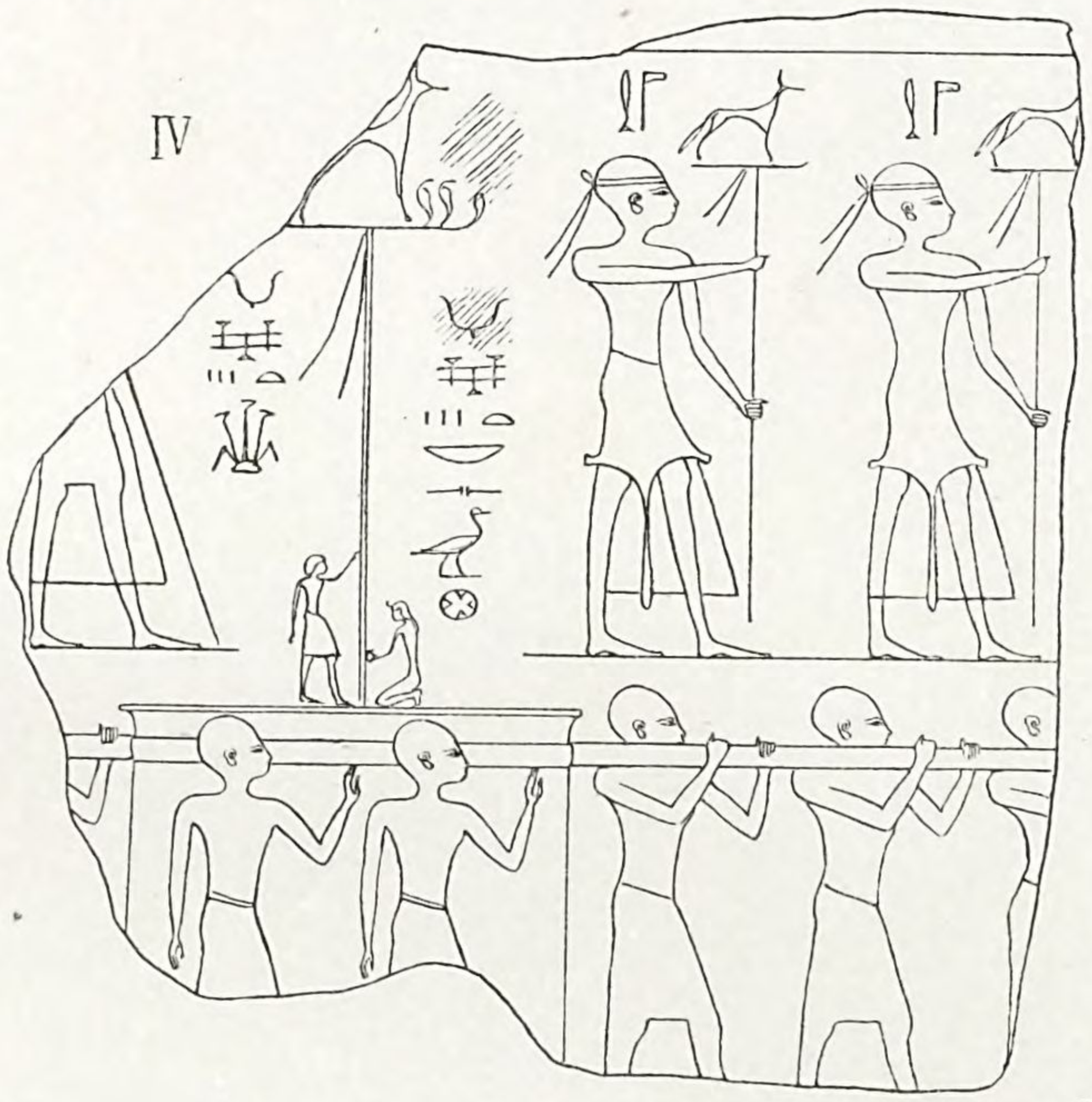
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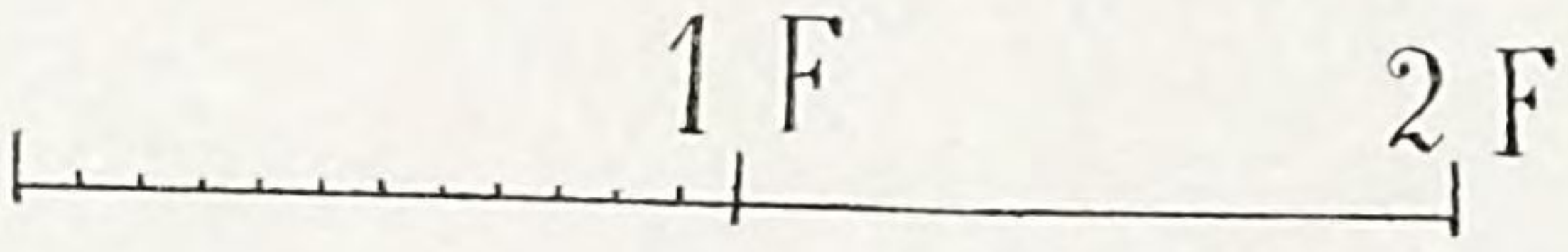

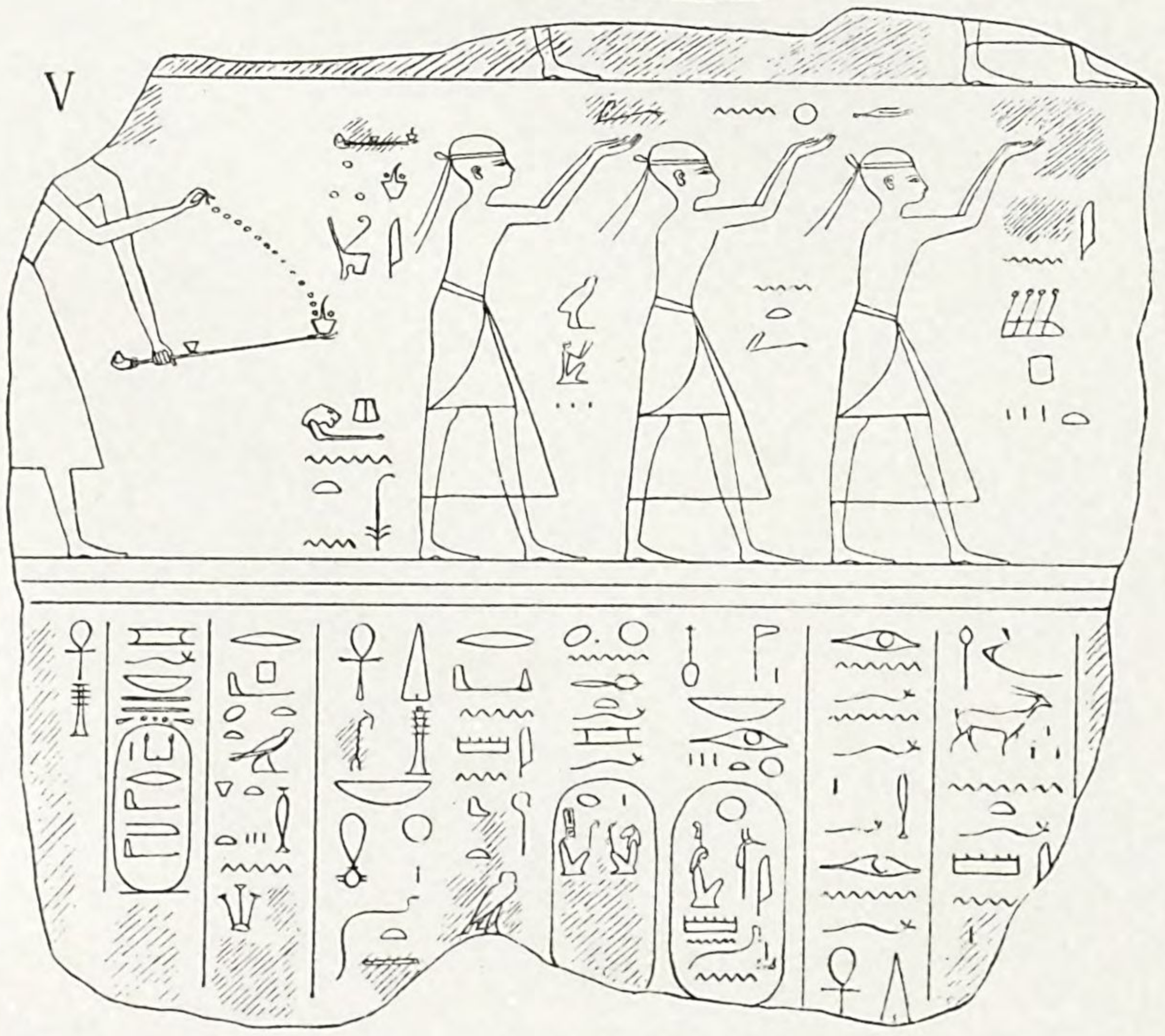
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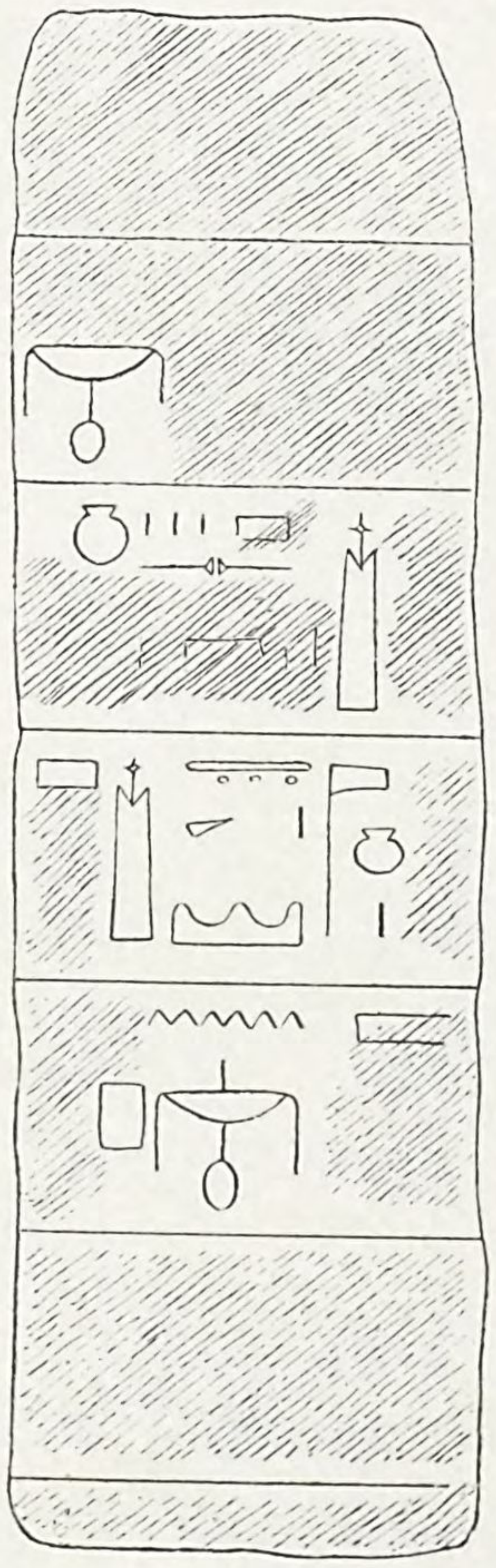
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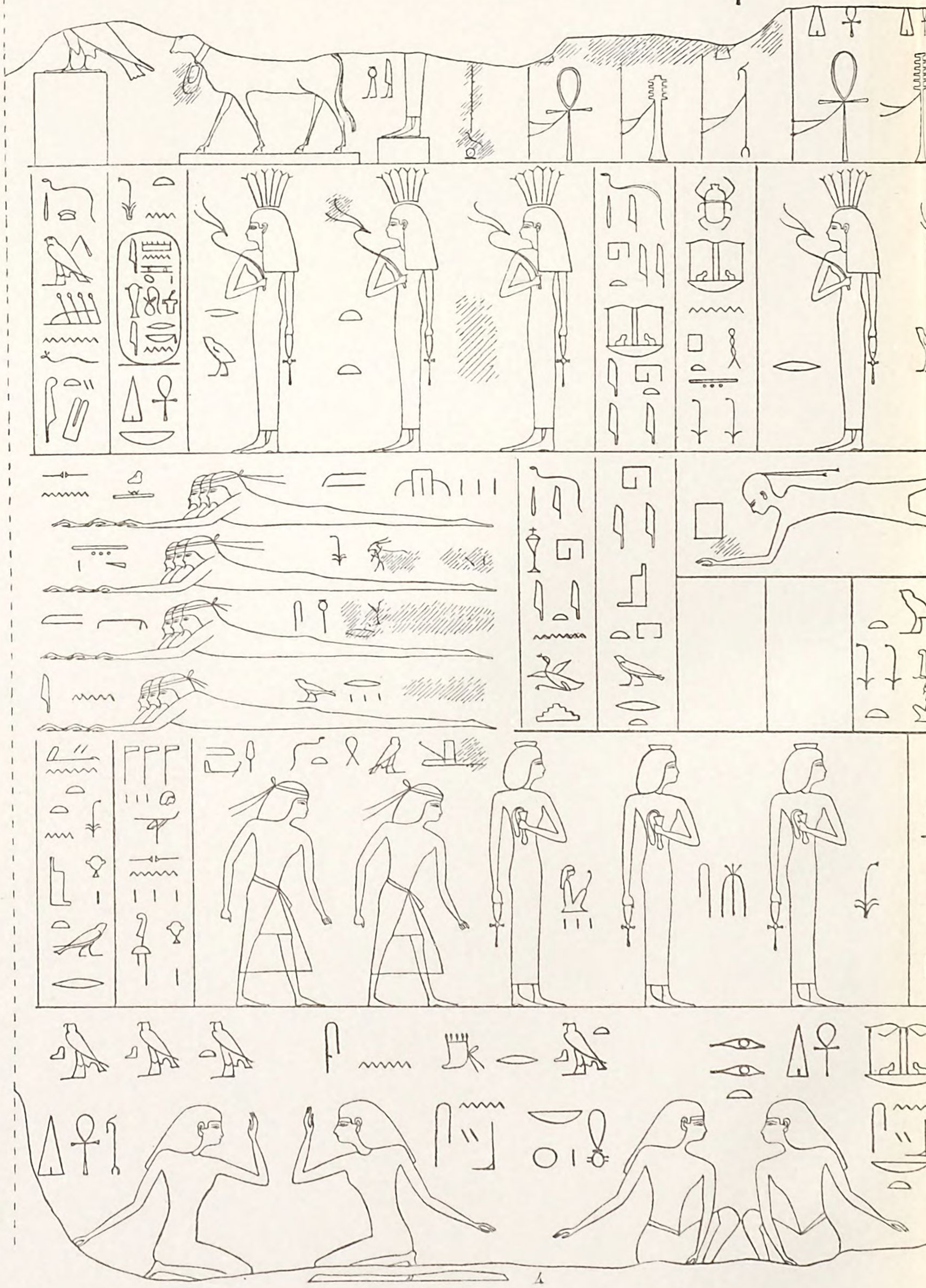

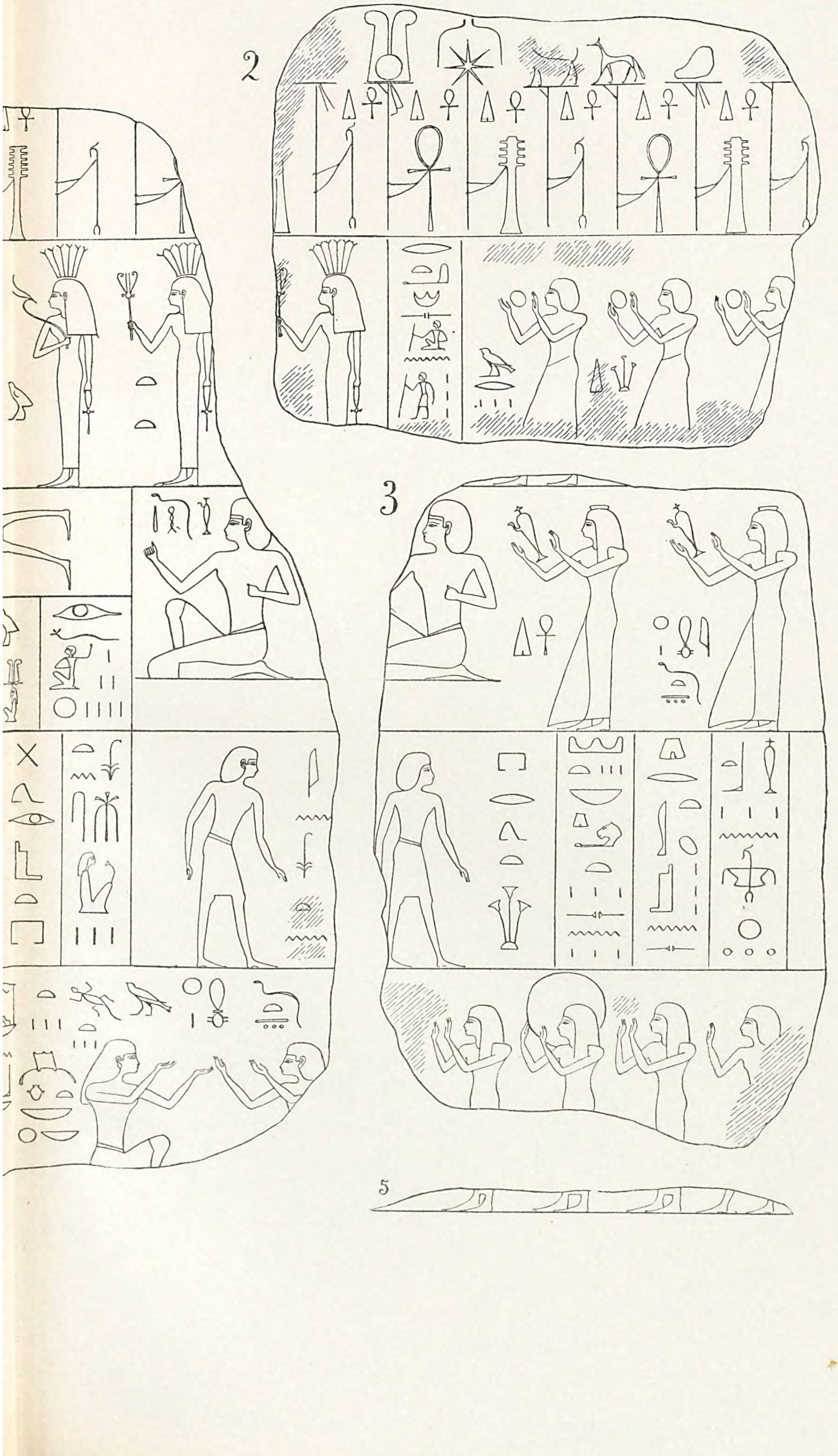
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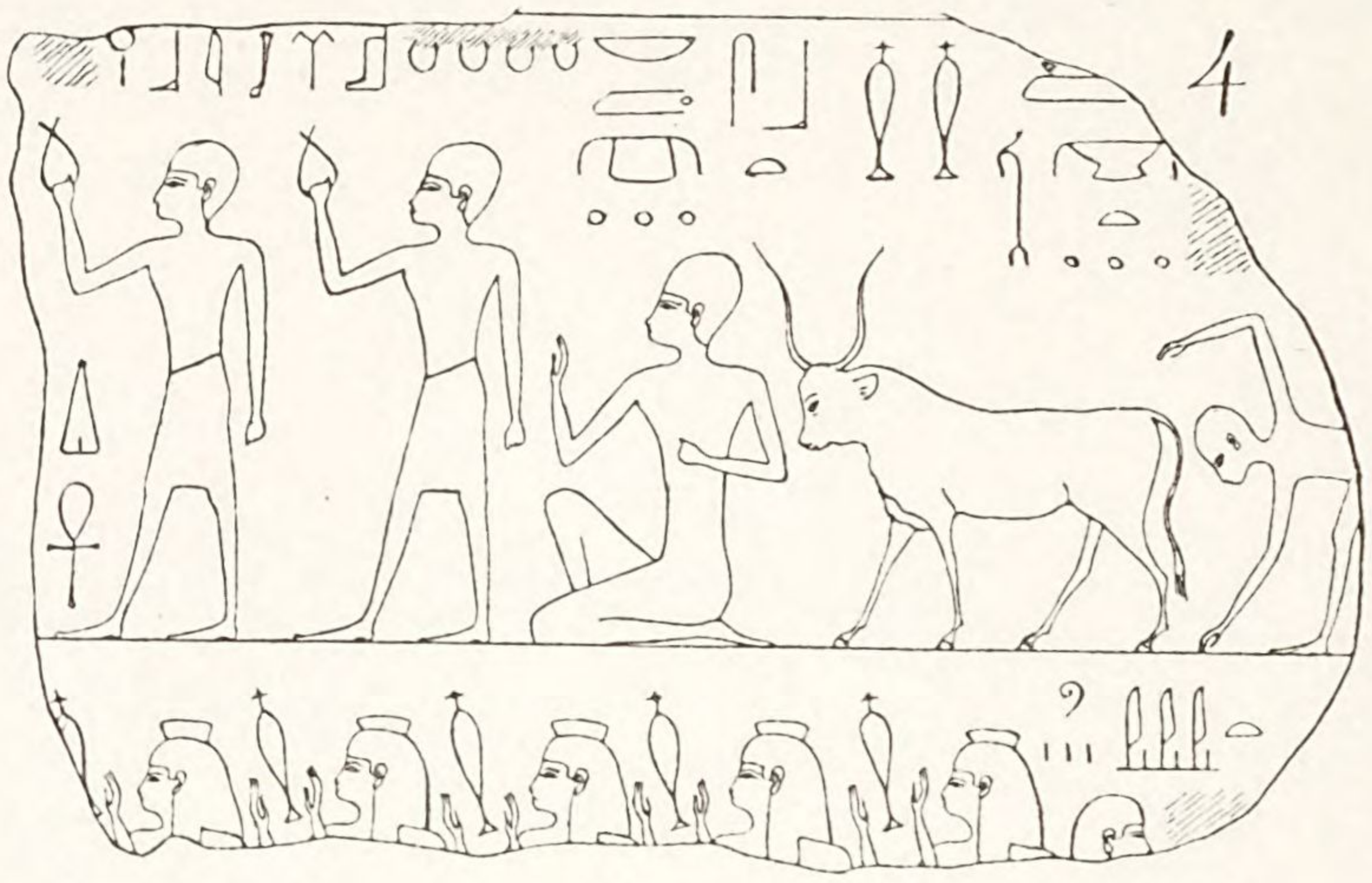

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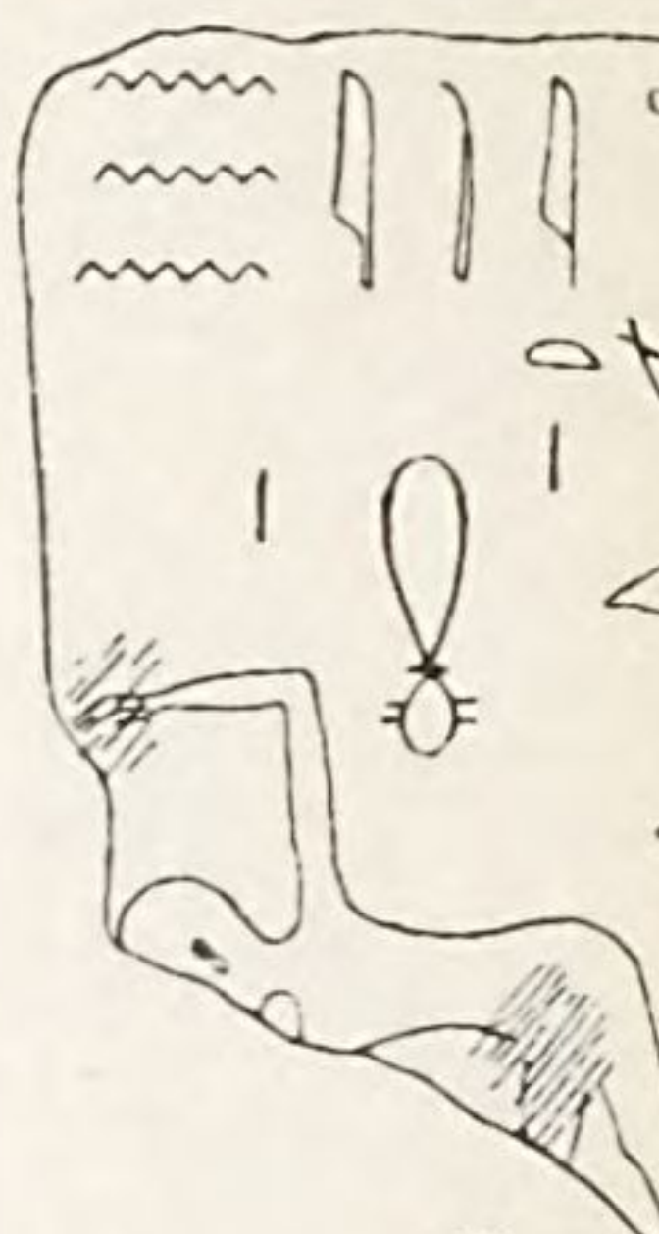

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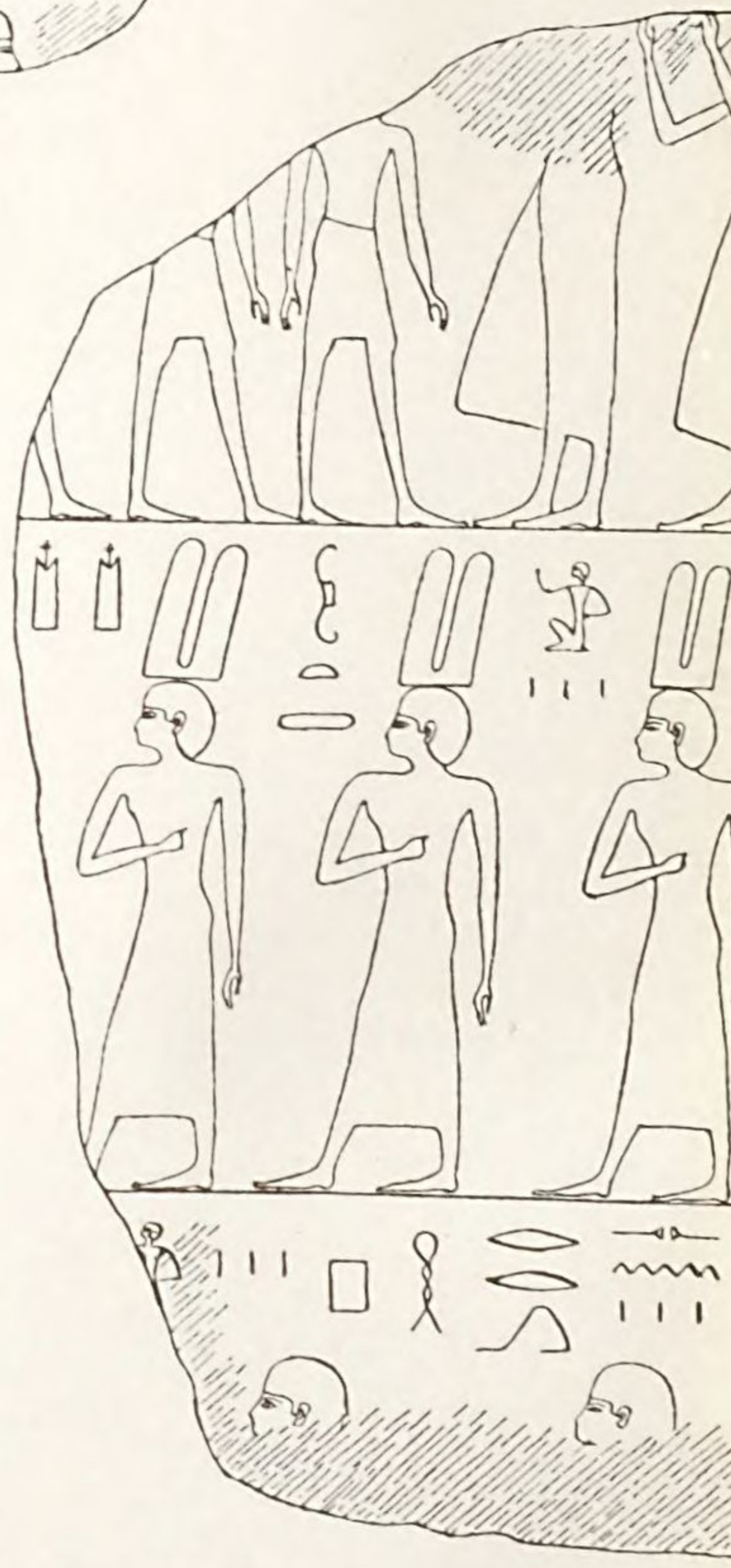

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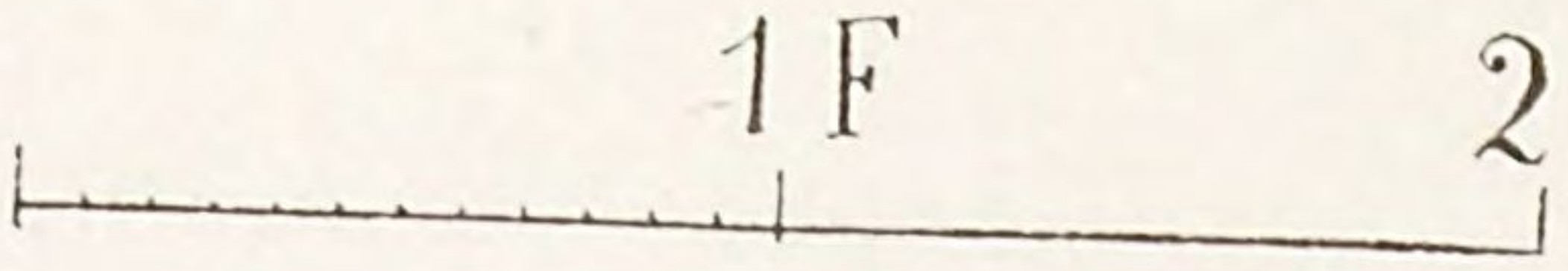

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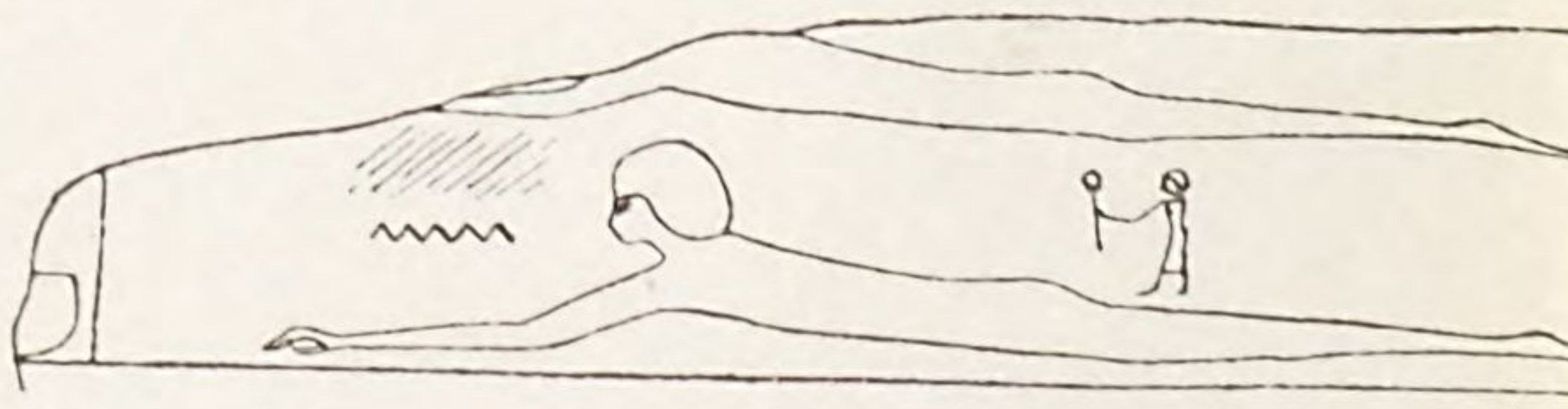

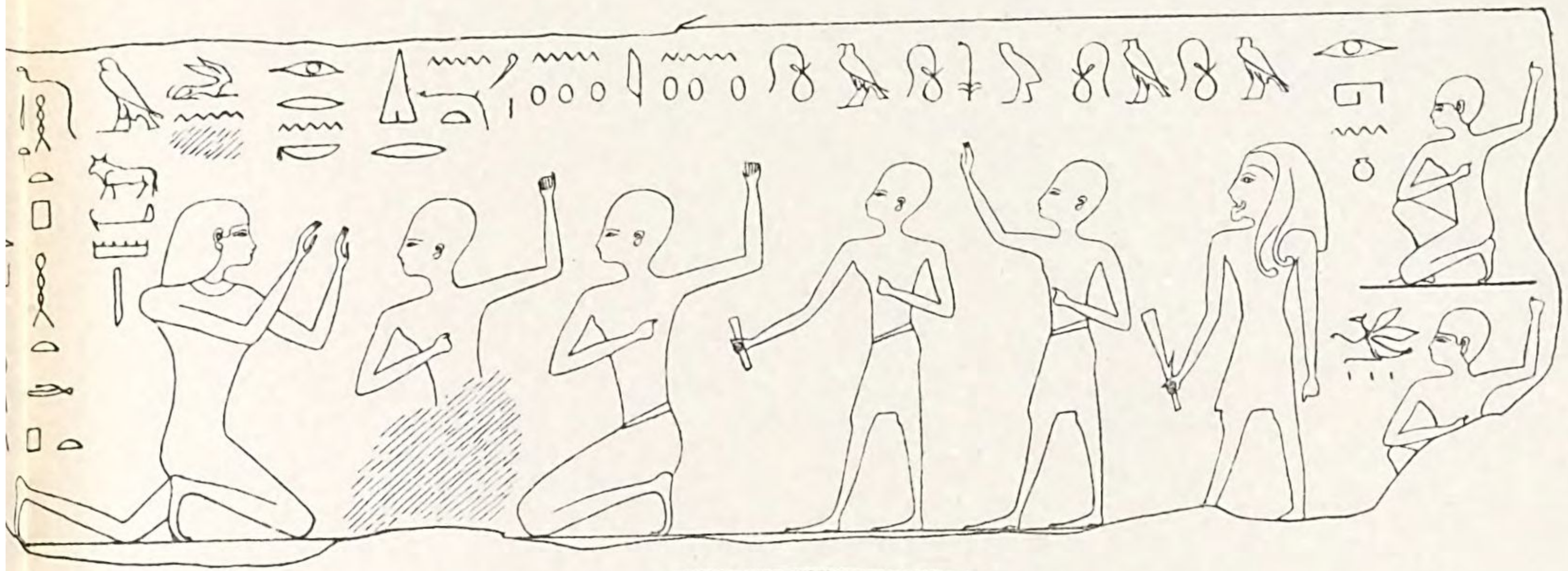

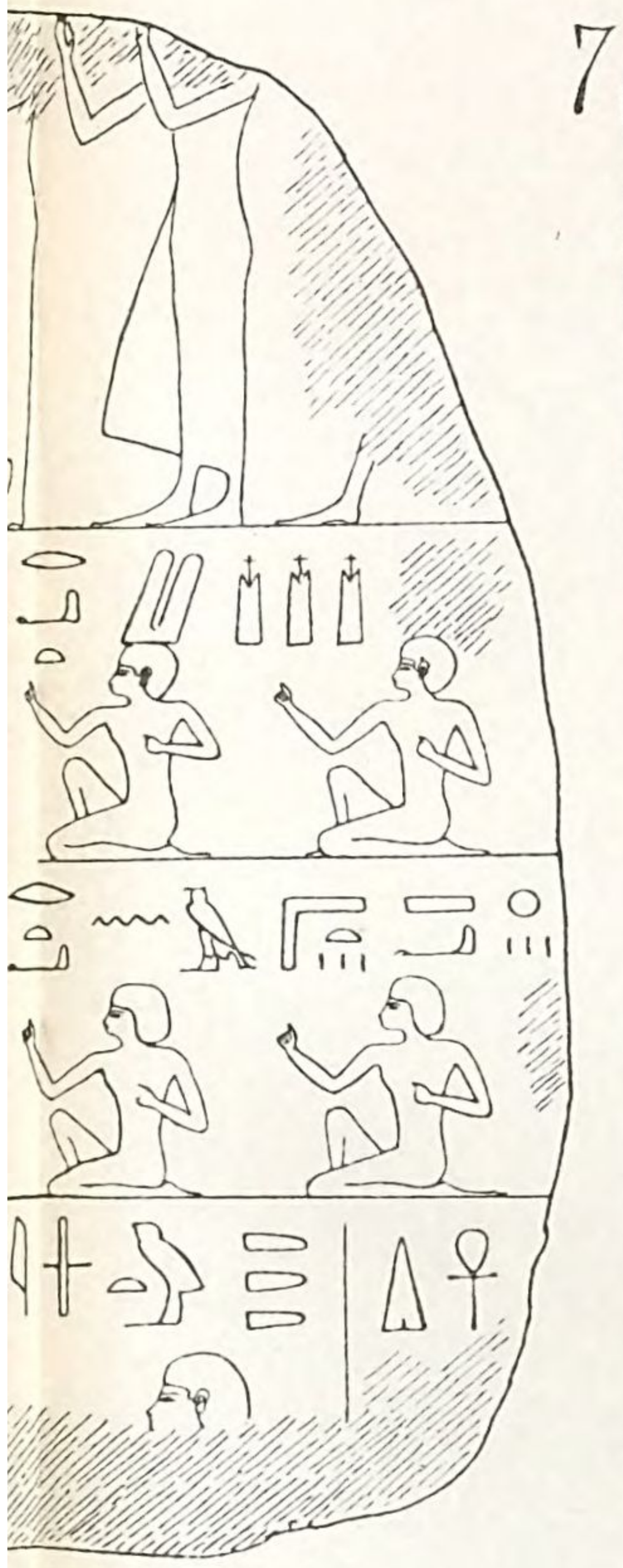

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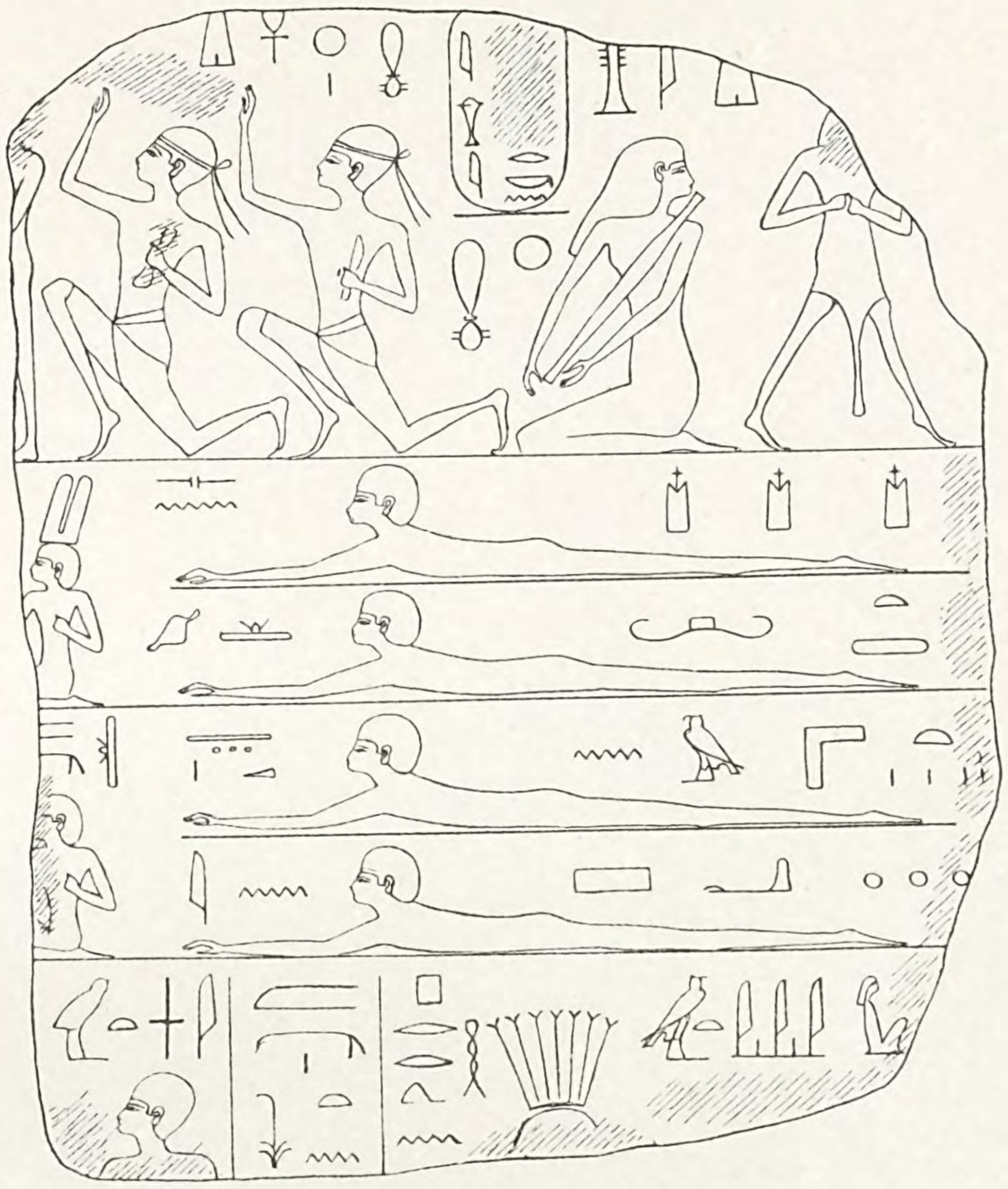

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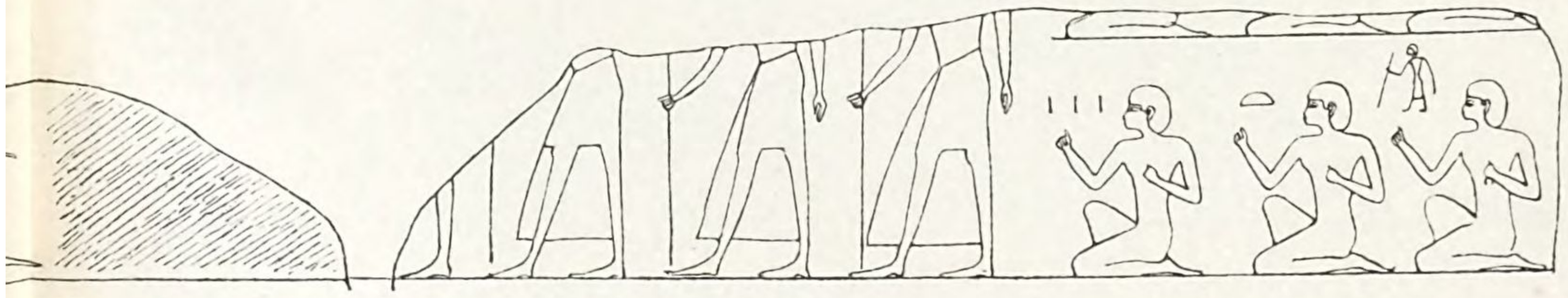

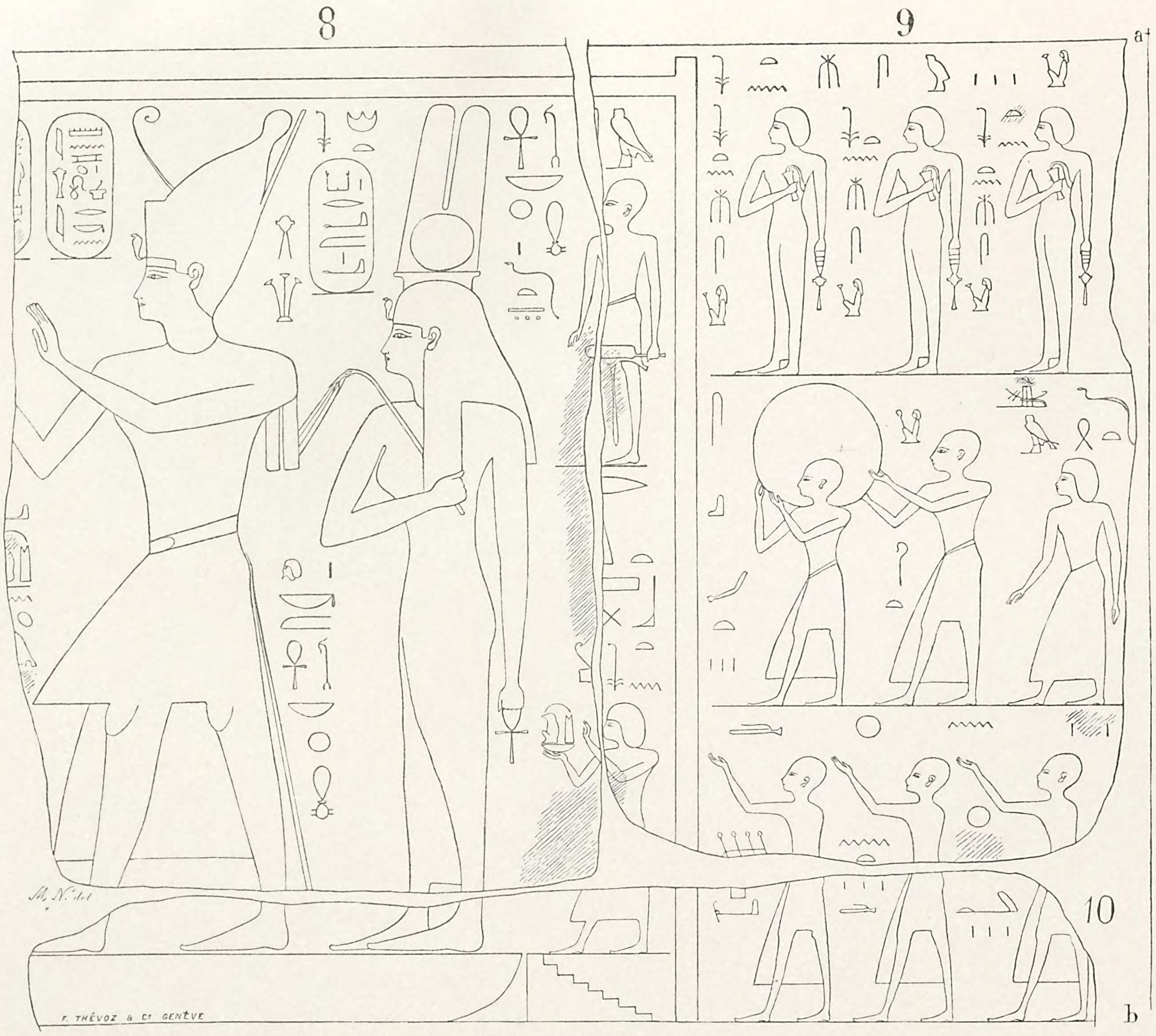
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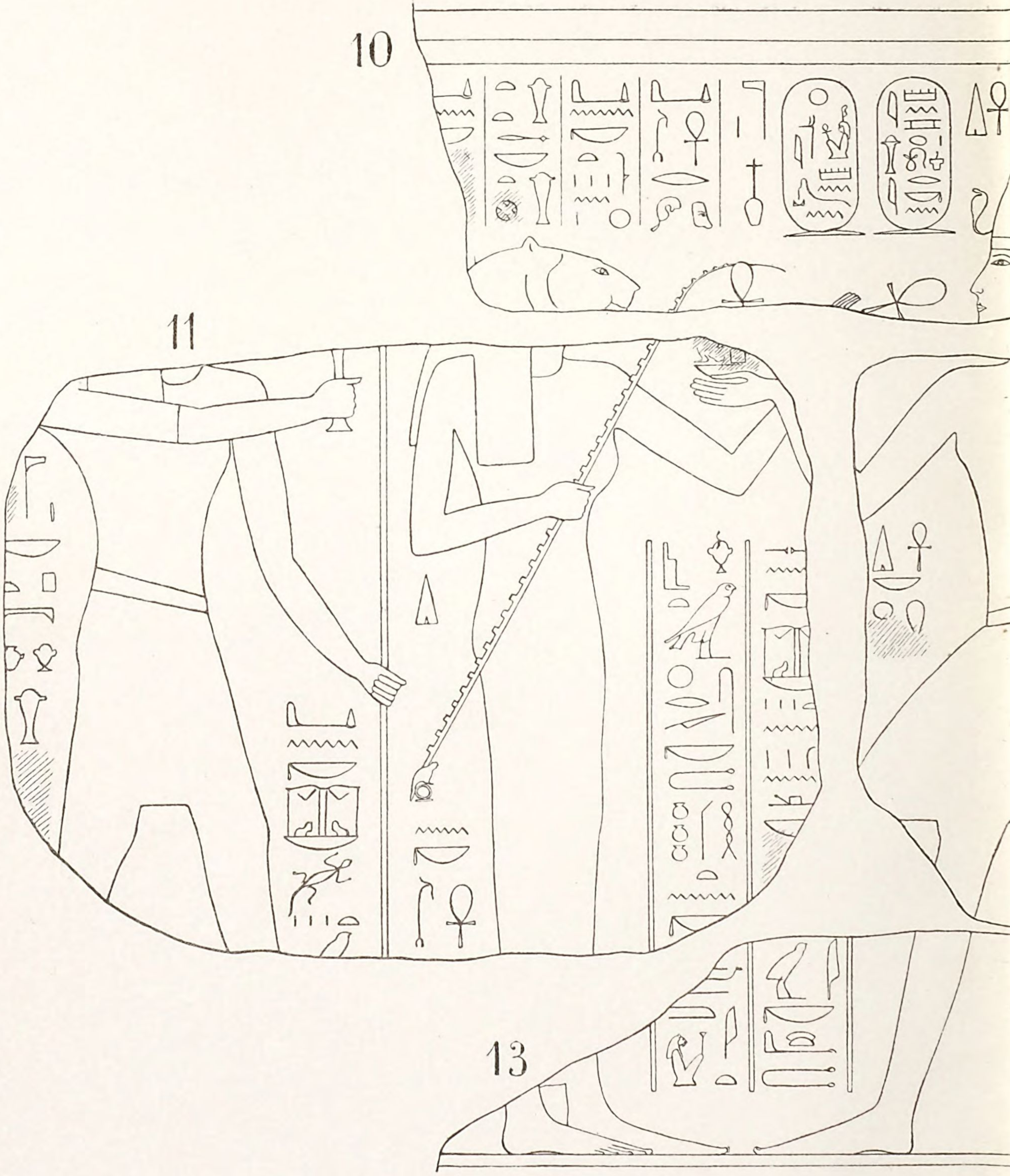
M. N. del.

F. THÉVOZ & Cie GENÈVE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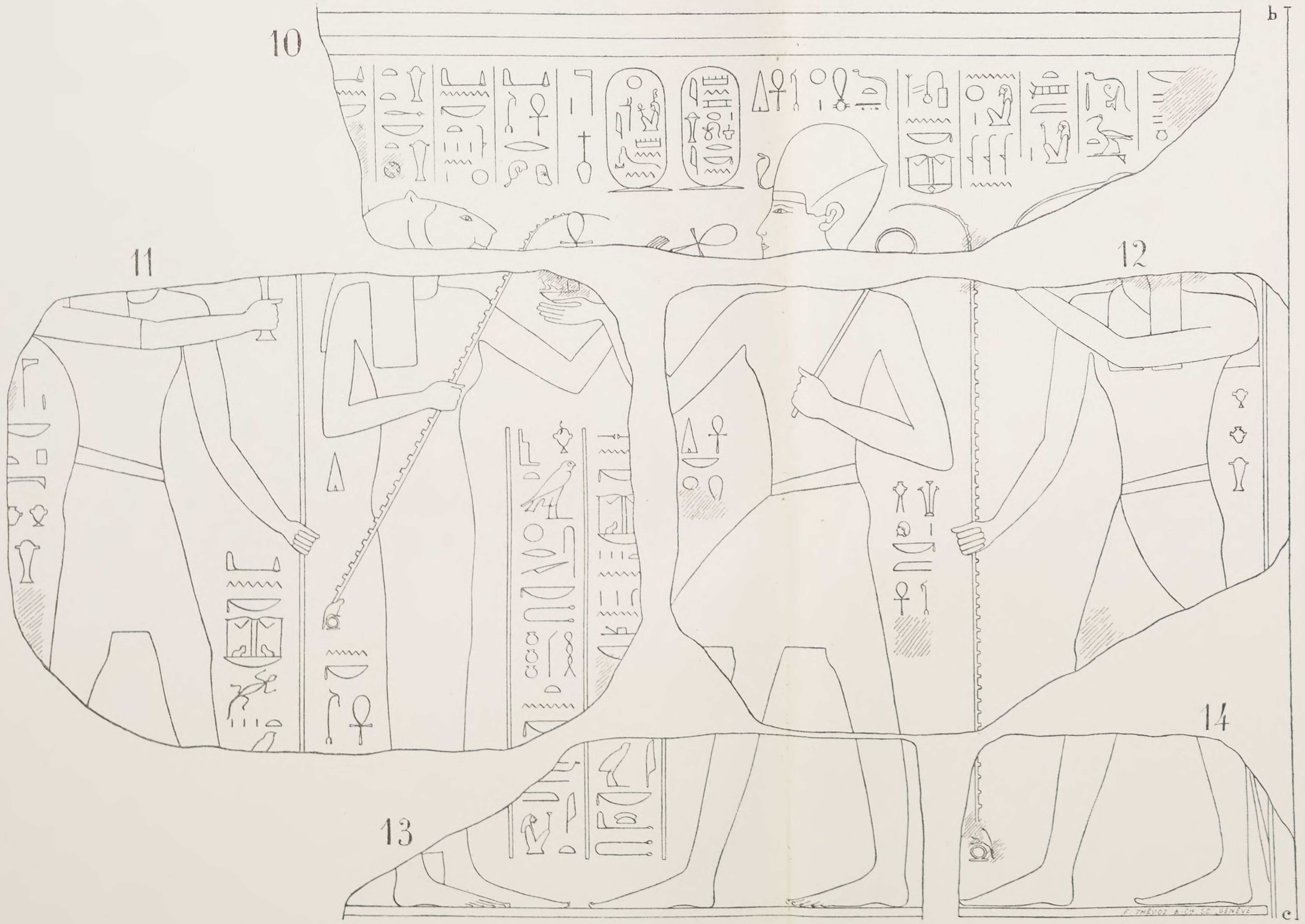
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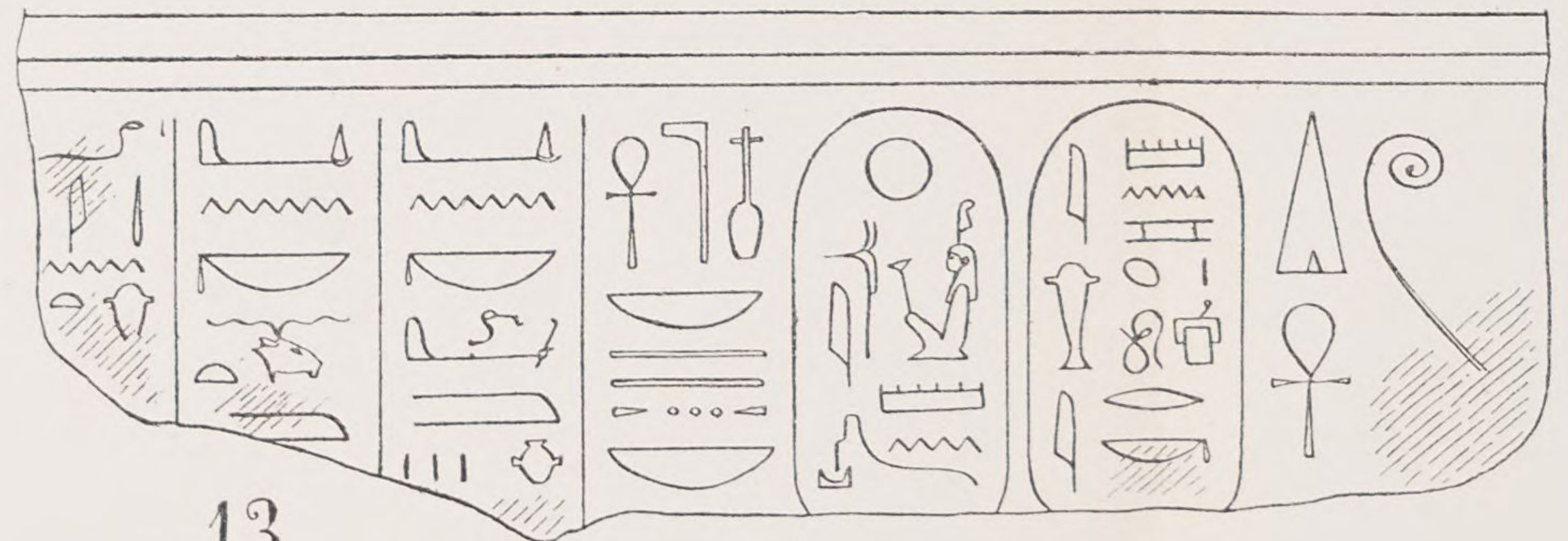
F. THÉVOZ & Cie, SC. GENÈVE



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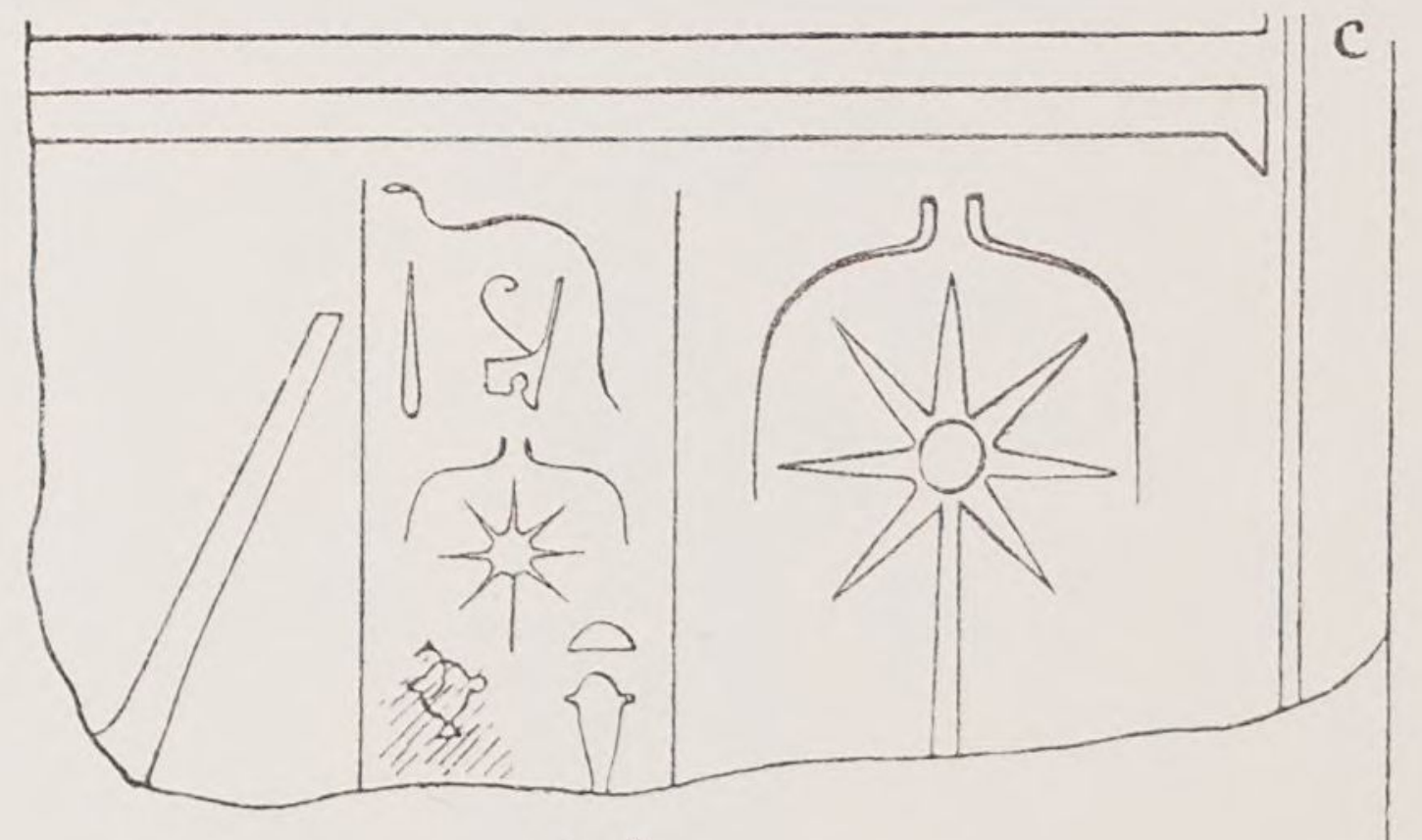

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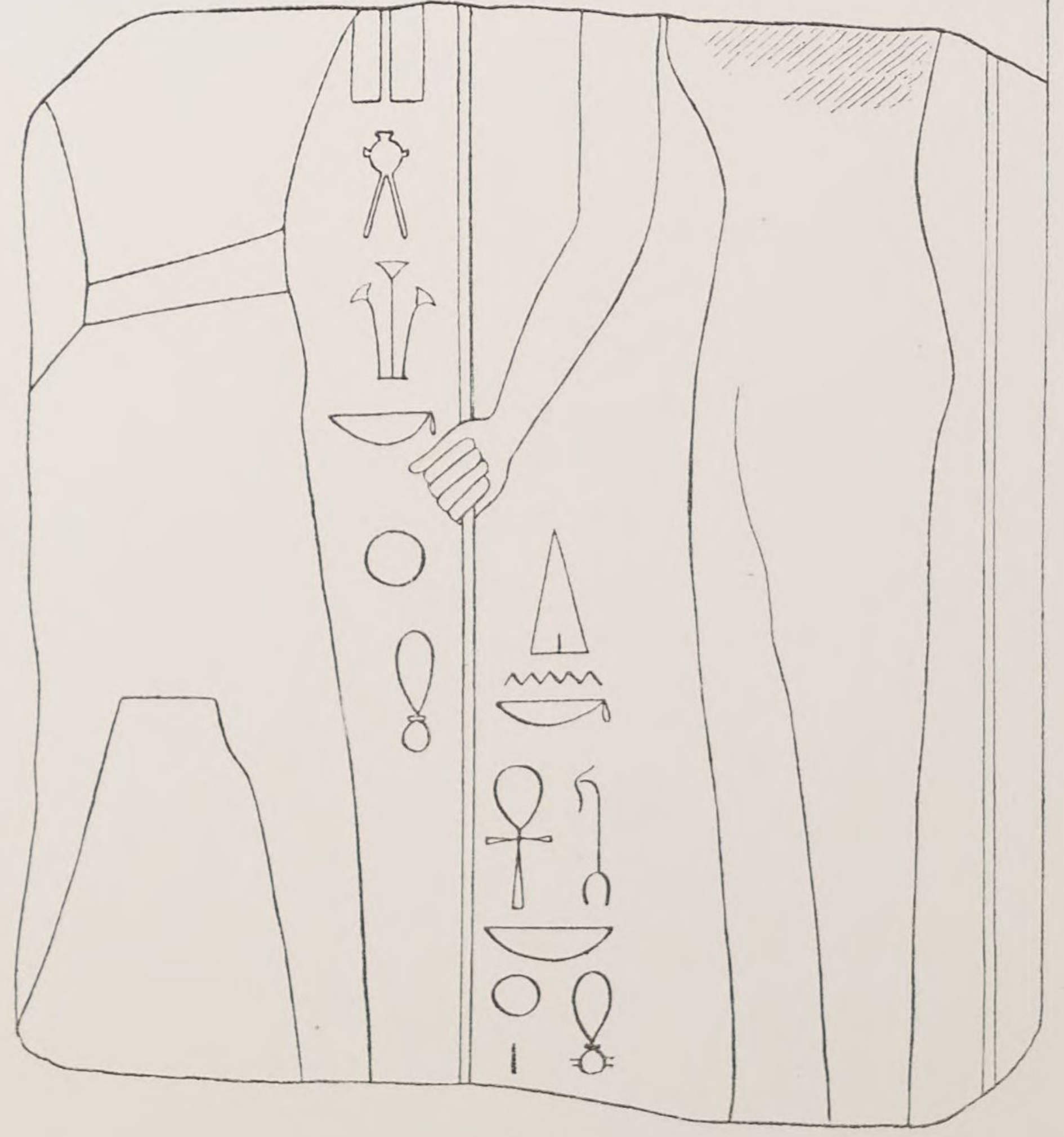
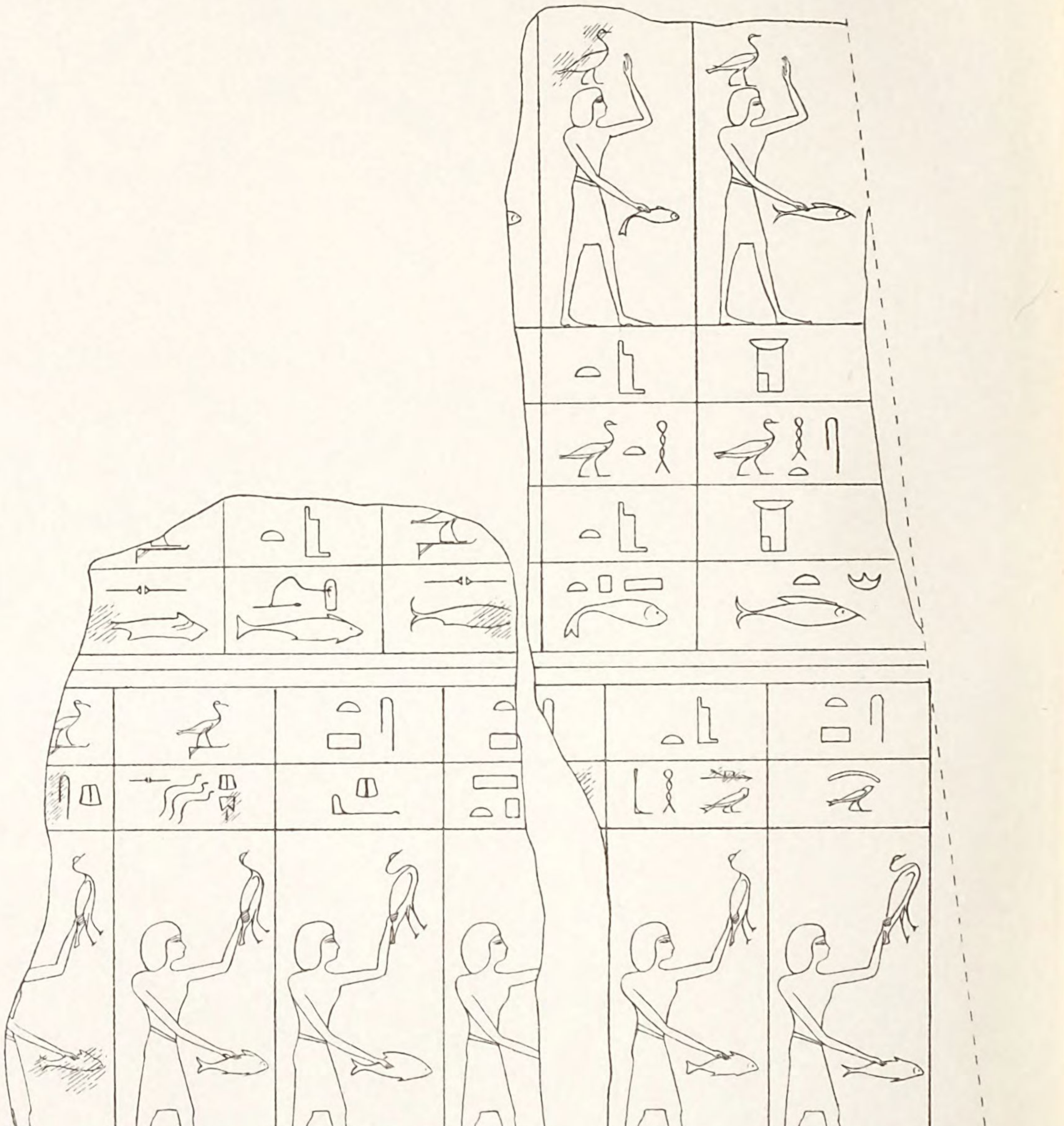
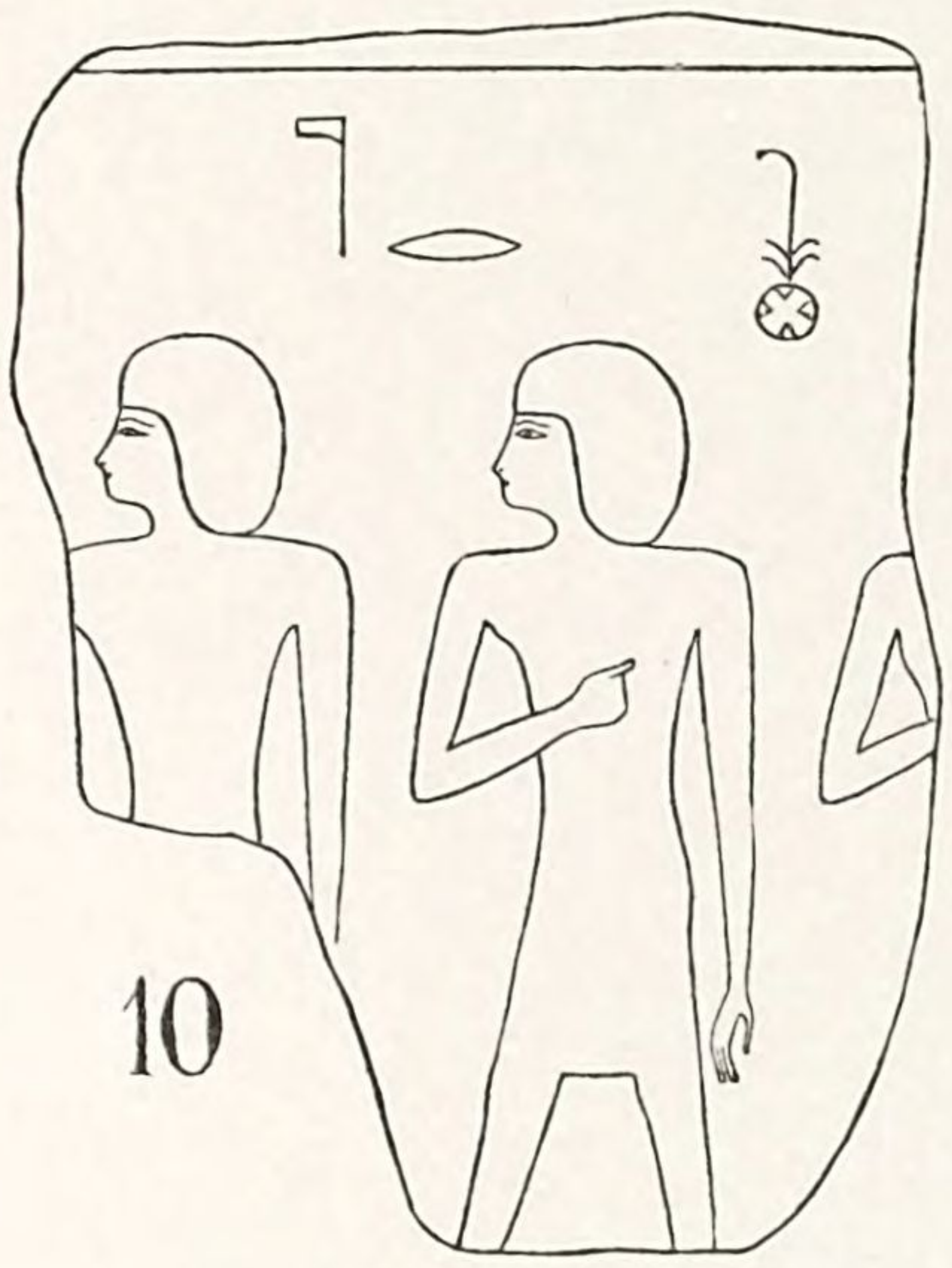




F. THEVOZ & Cie, GENÈVE, SC.



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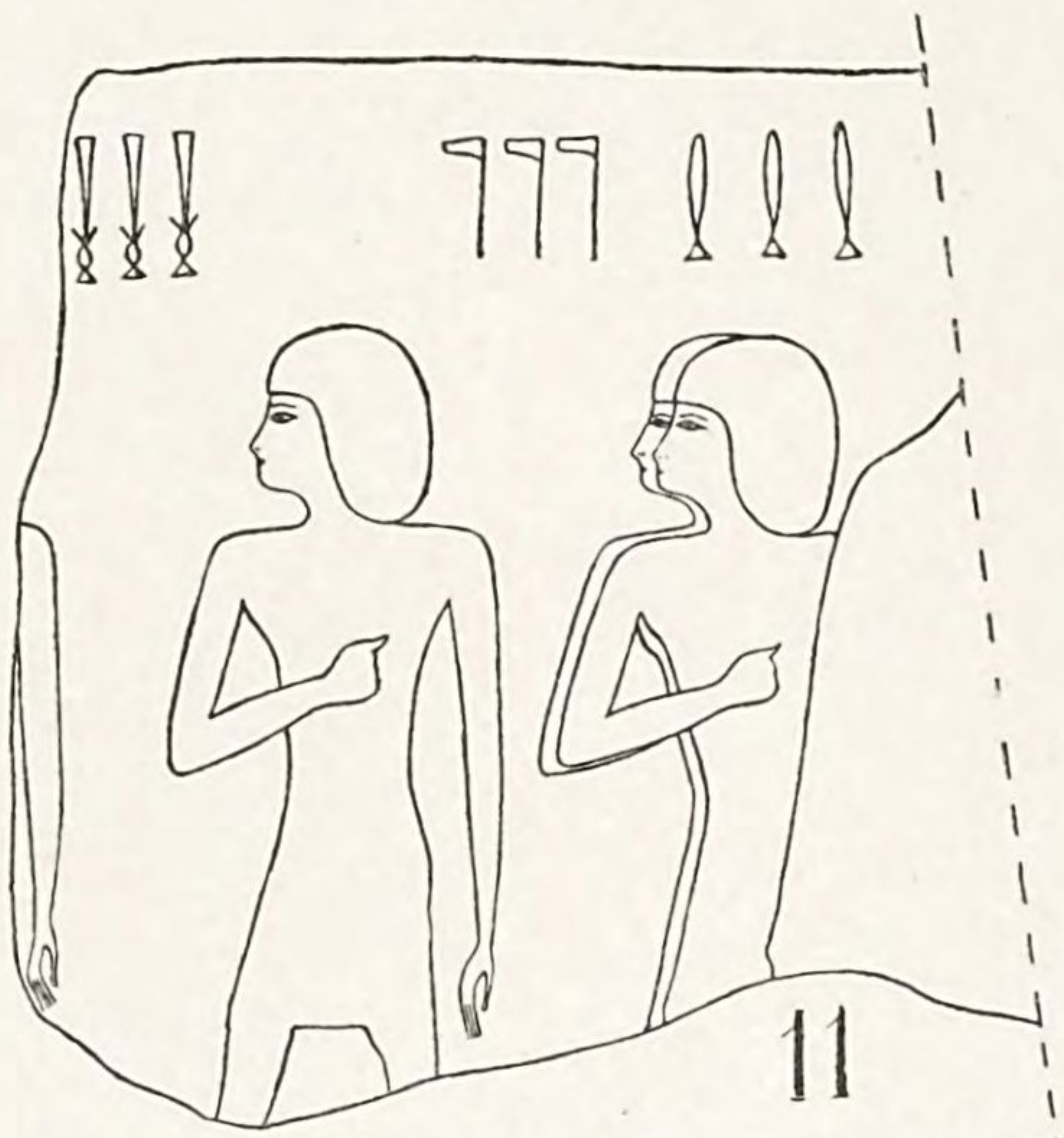

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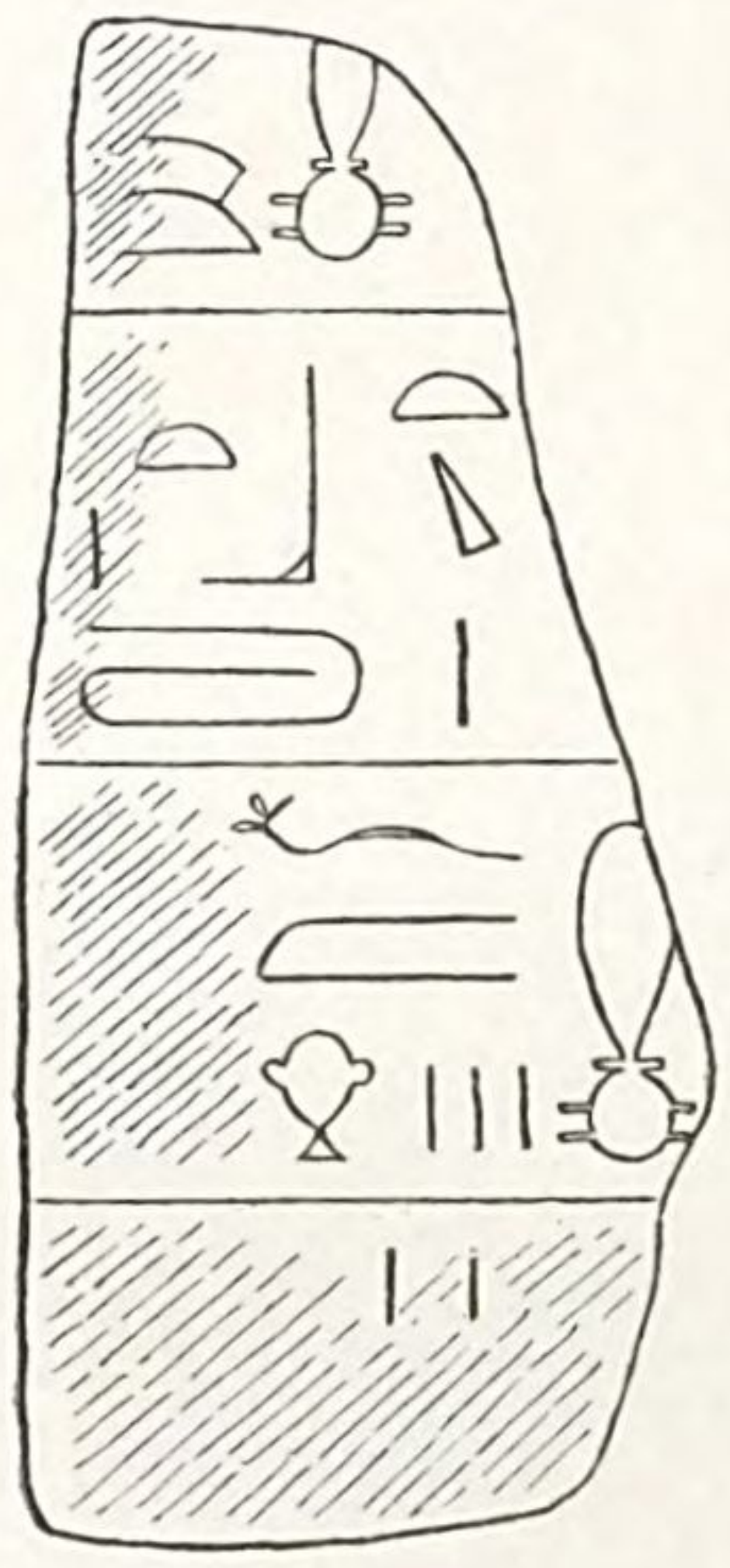

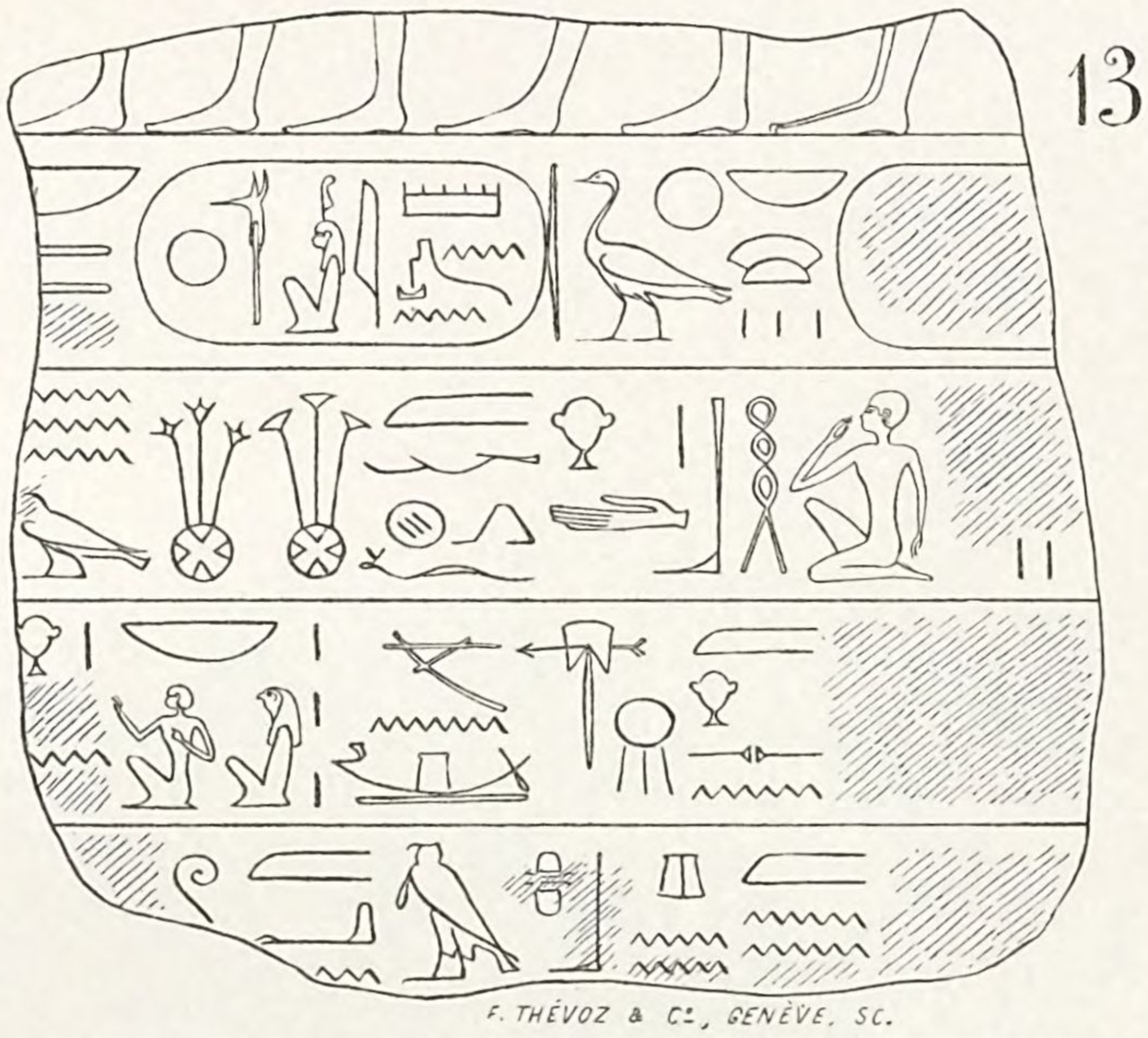

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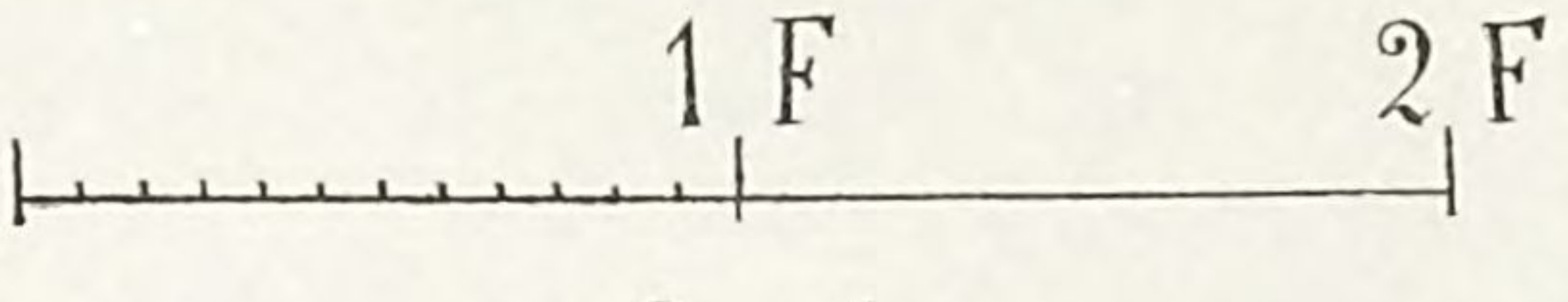
F. THÉVOZ & Cie, GENÈVE, SC.



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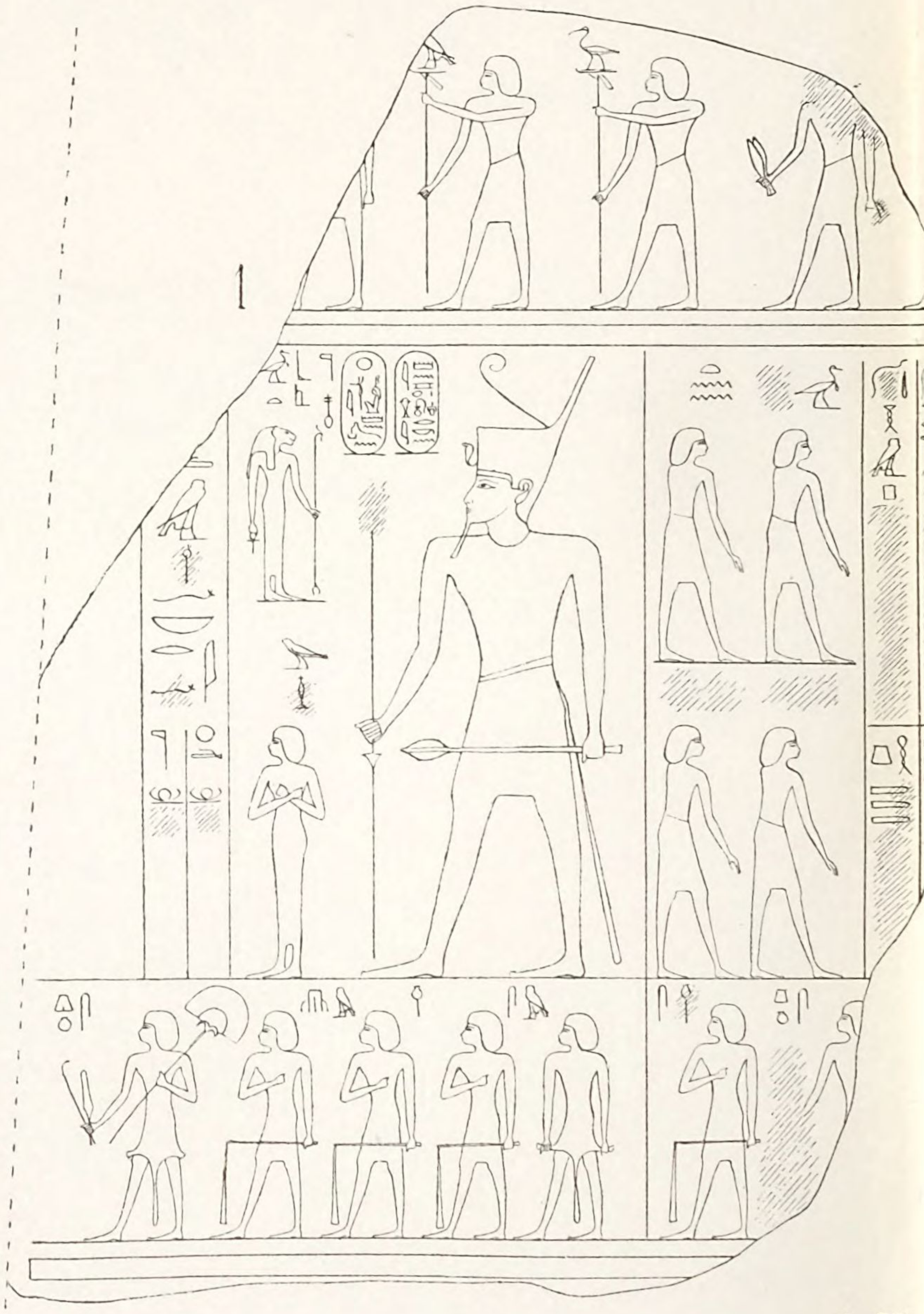

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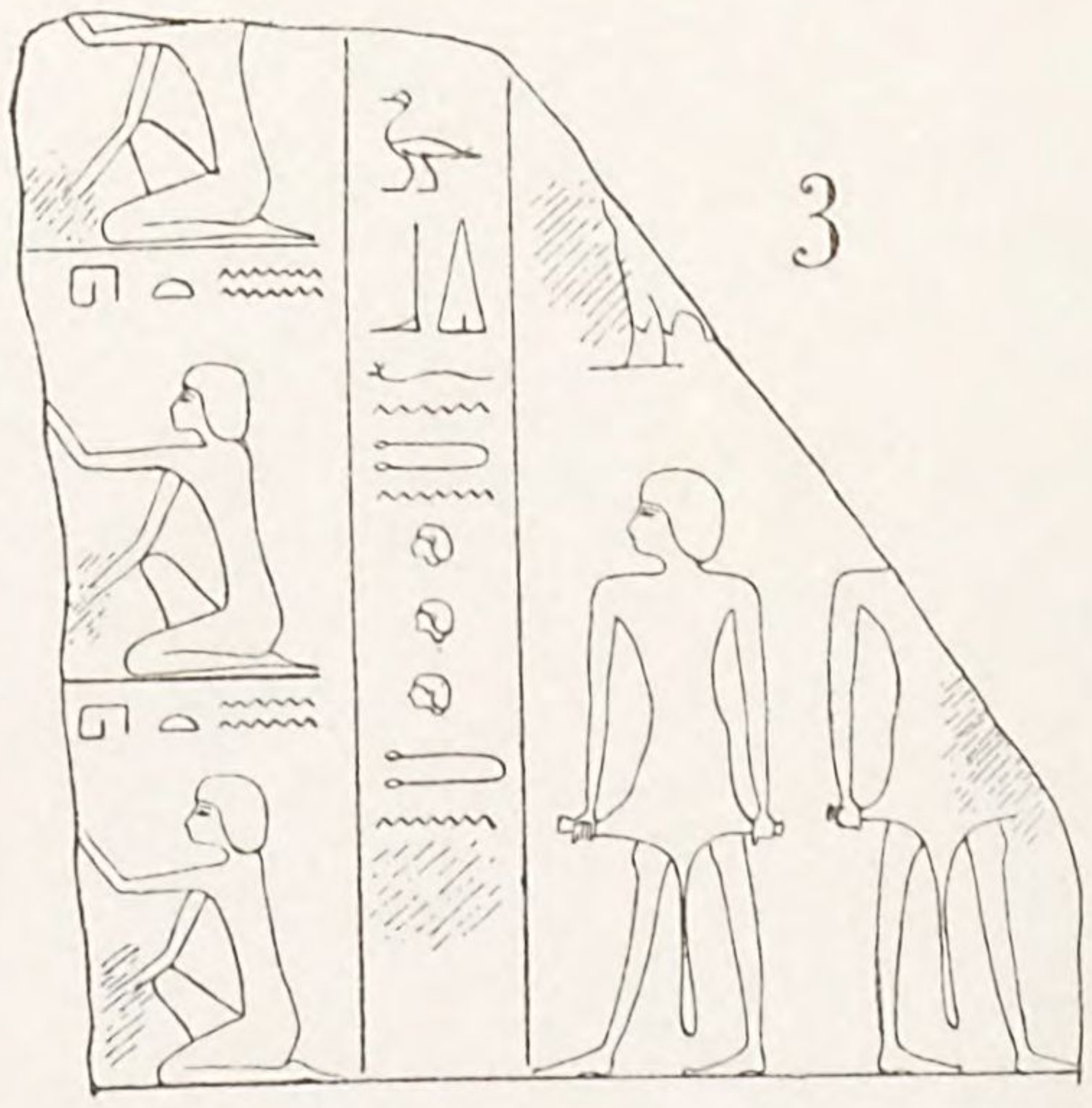

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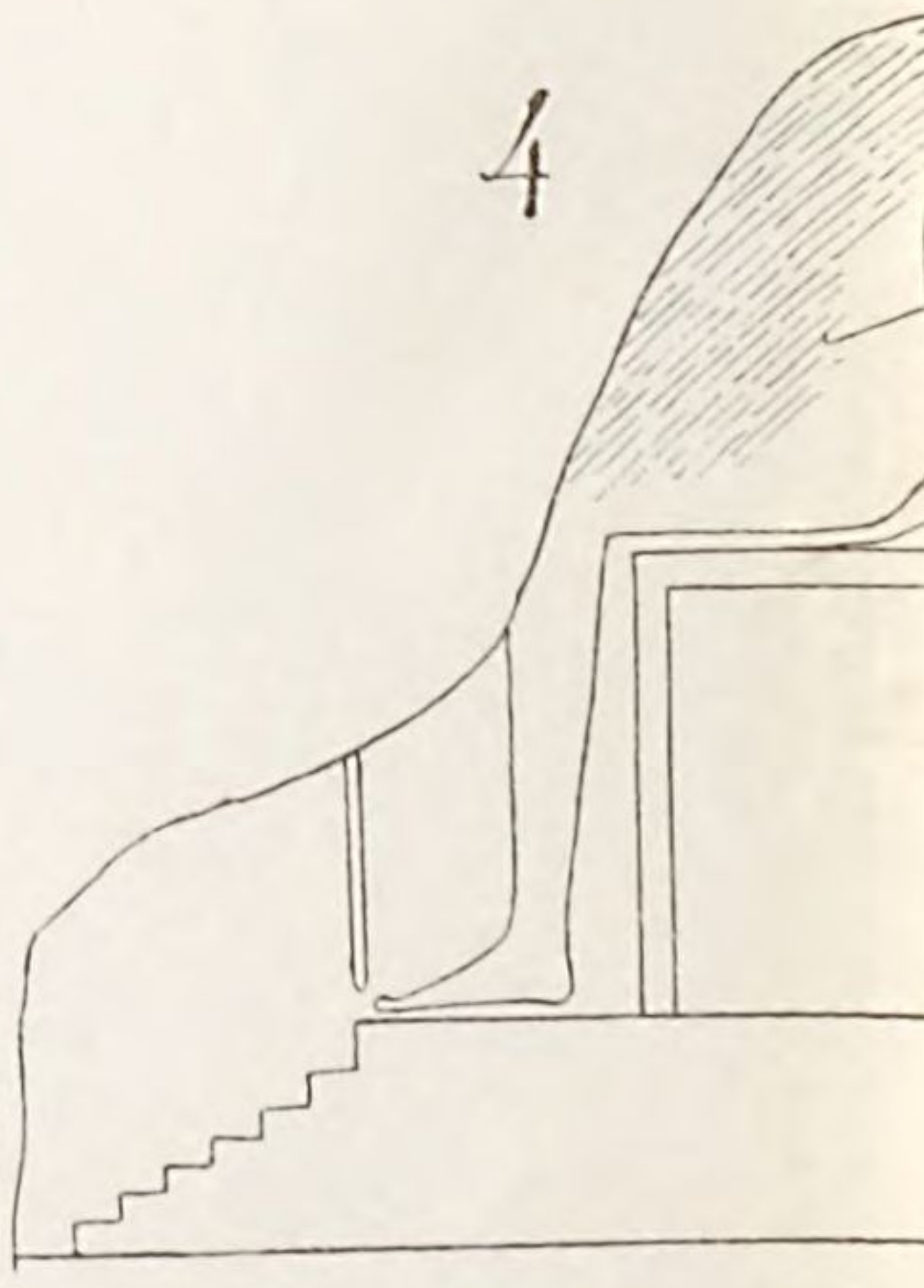

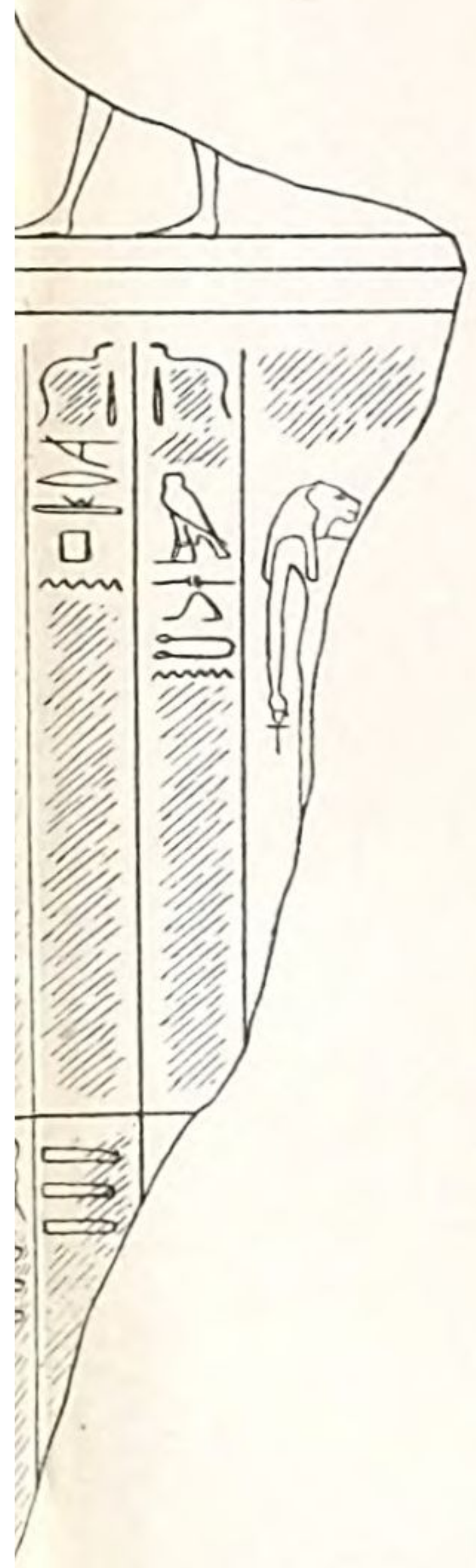

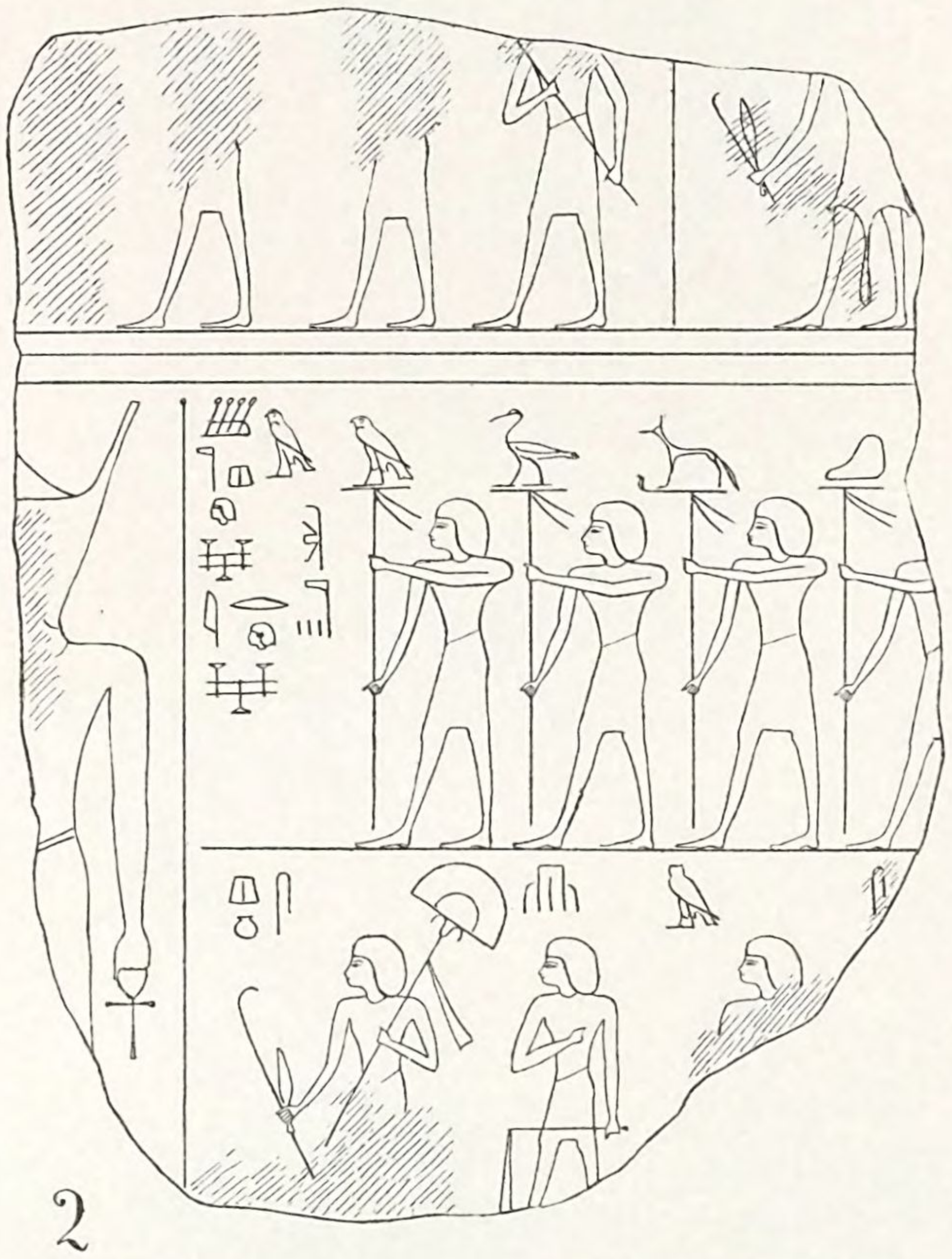

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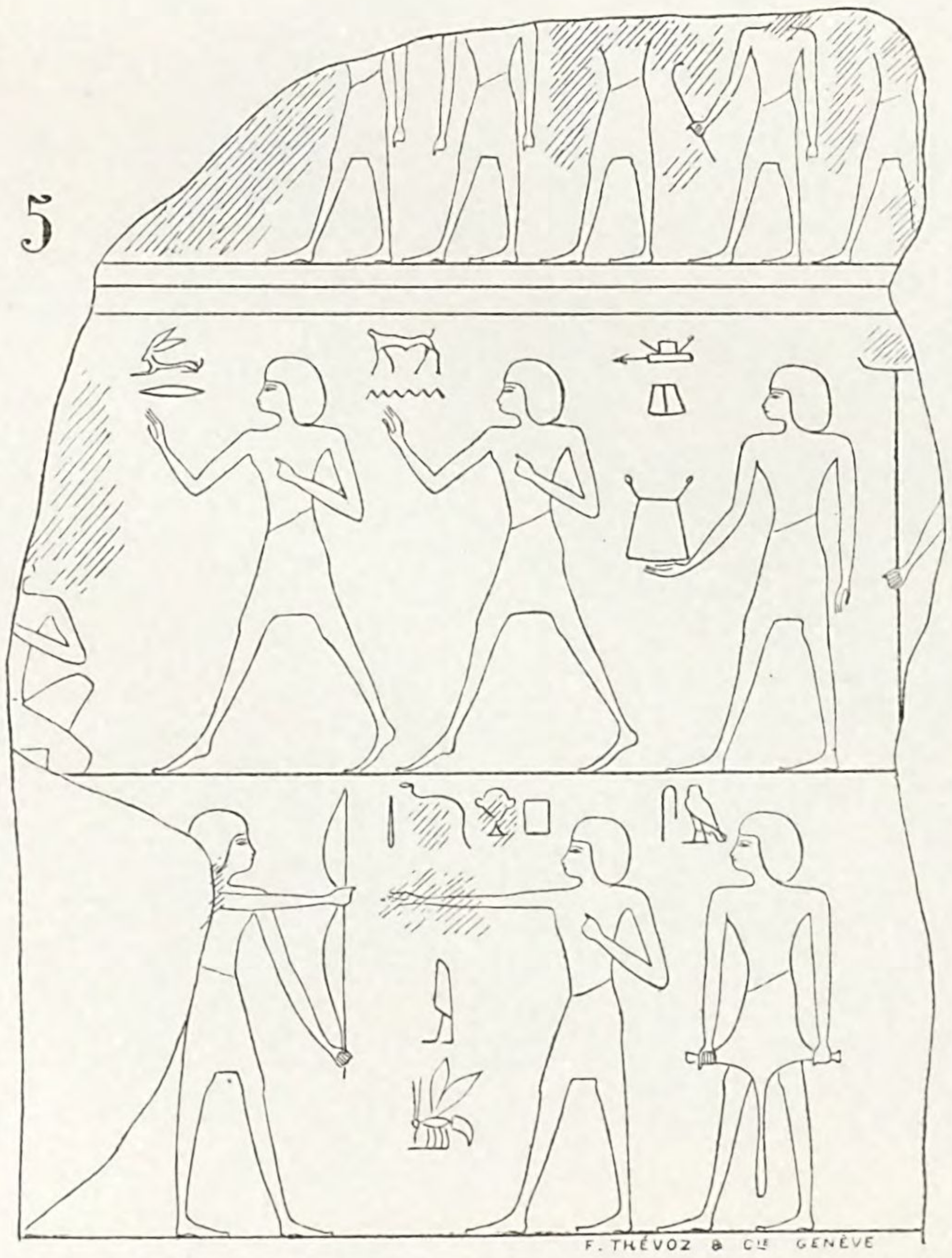

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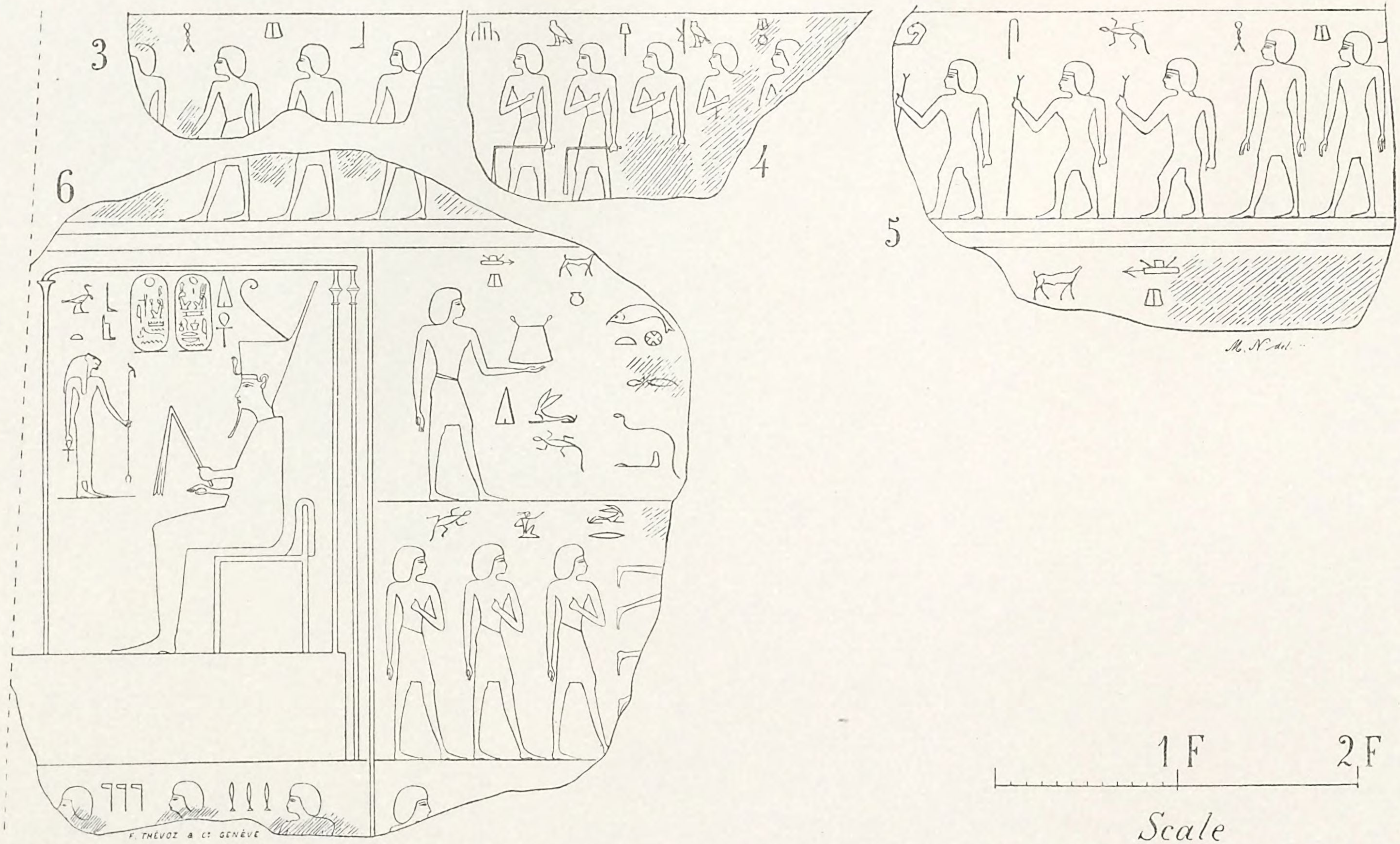
F. THÉVOZ & Cie GENÈVE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M. N. del.
F. THÉVOZ & Cie GENÈVE
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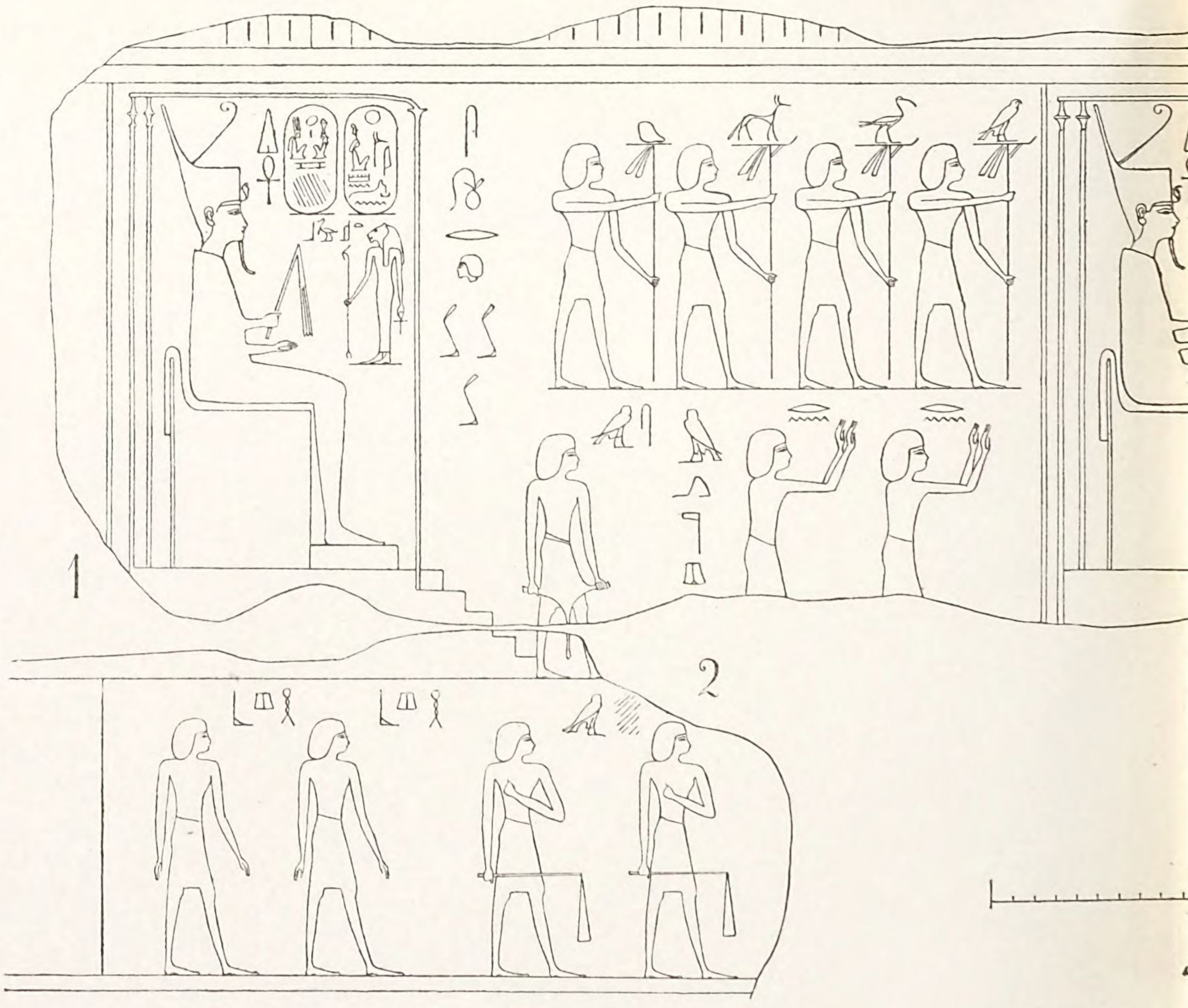
Scale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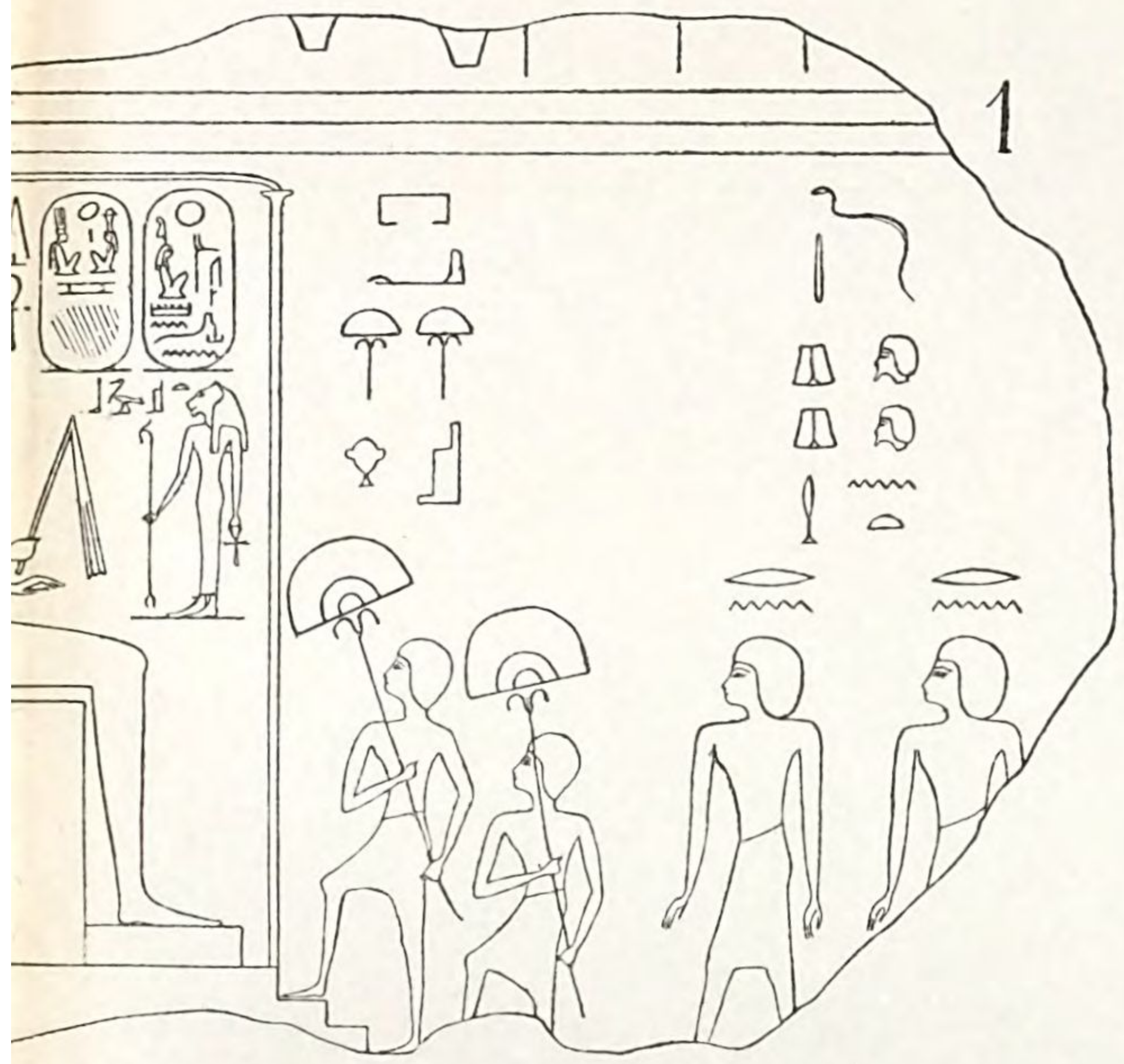

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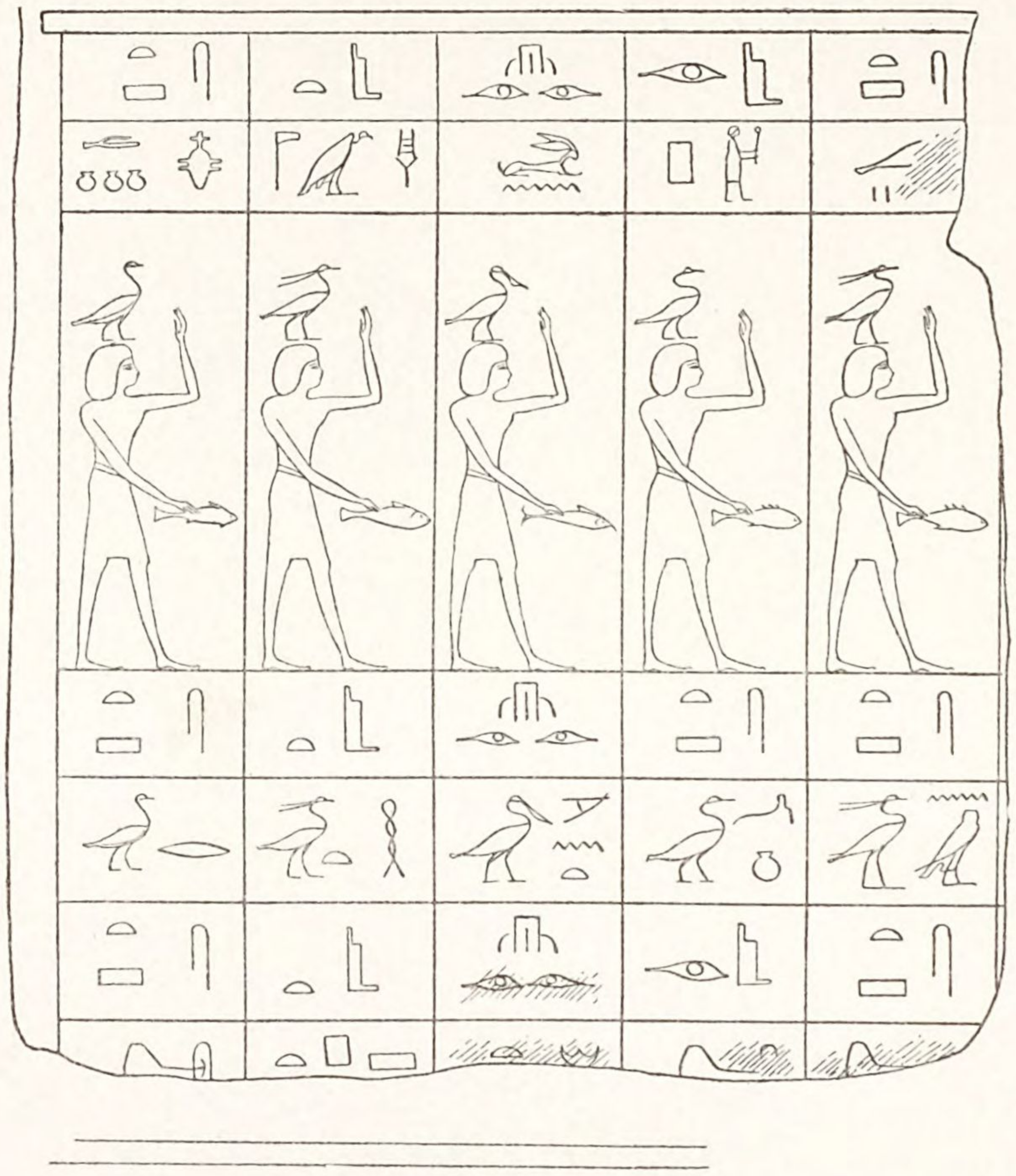

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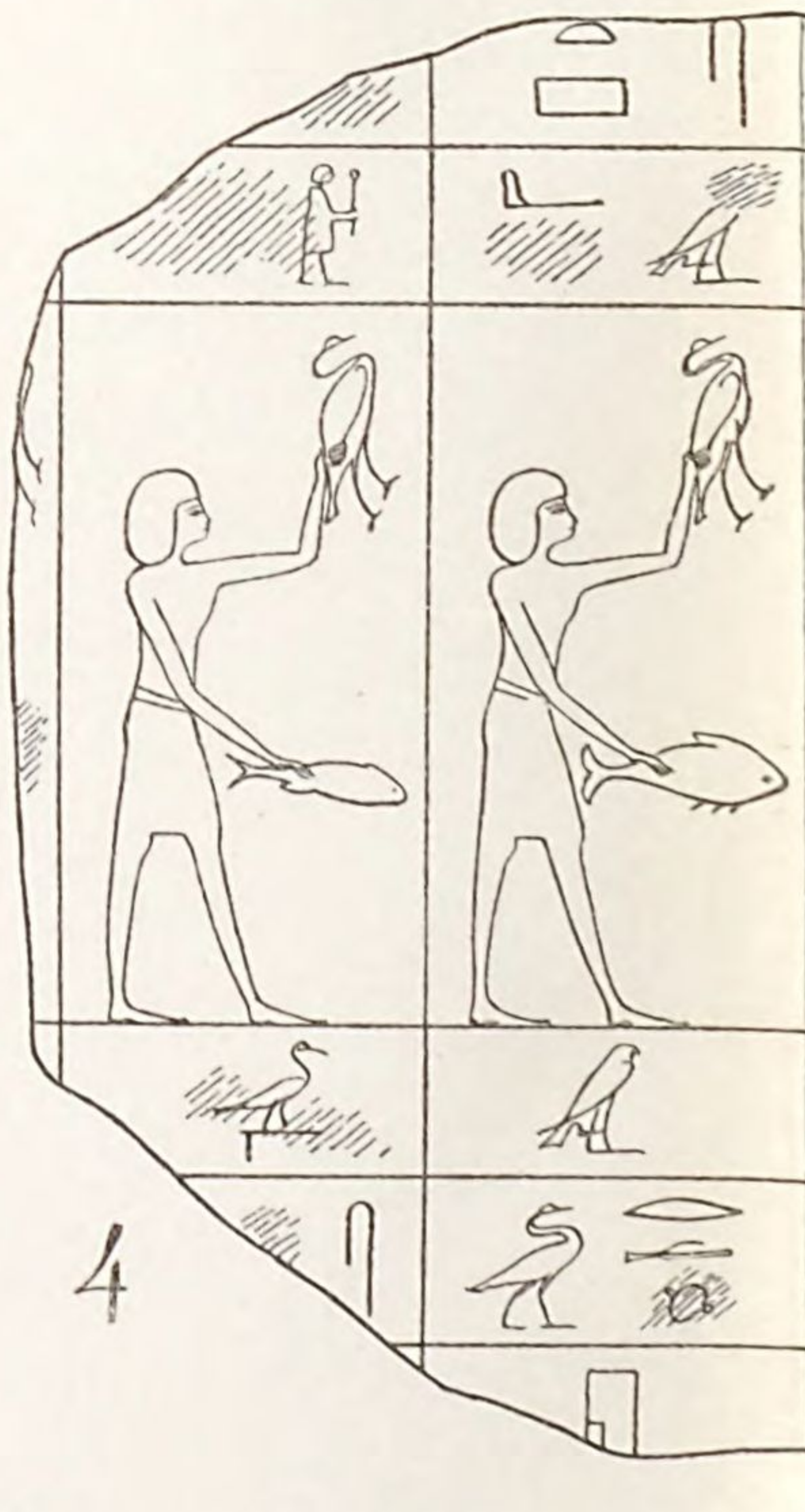

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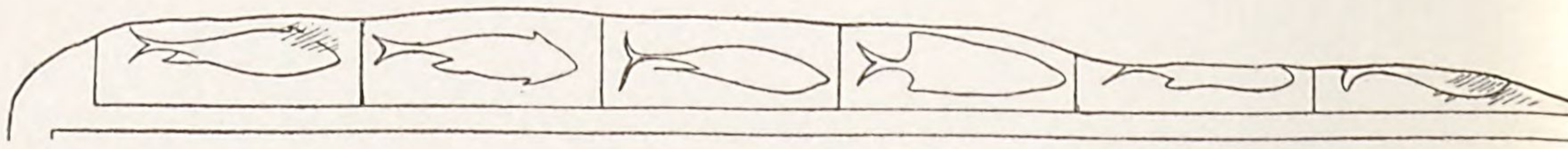

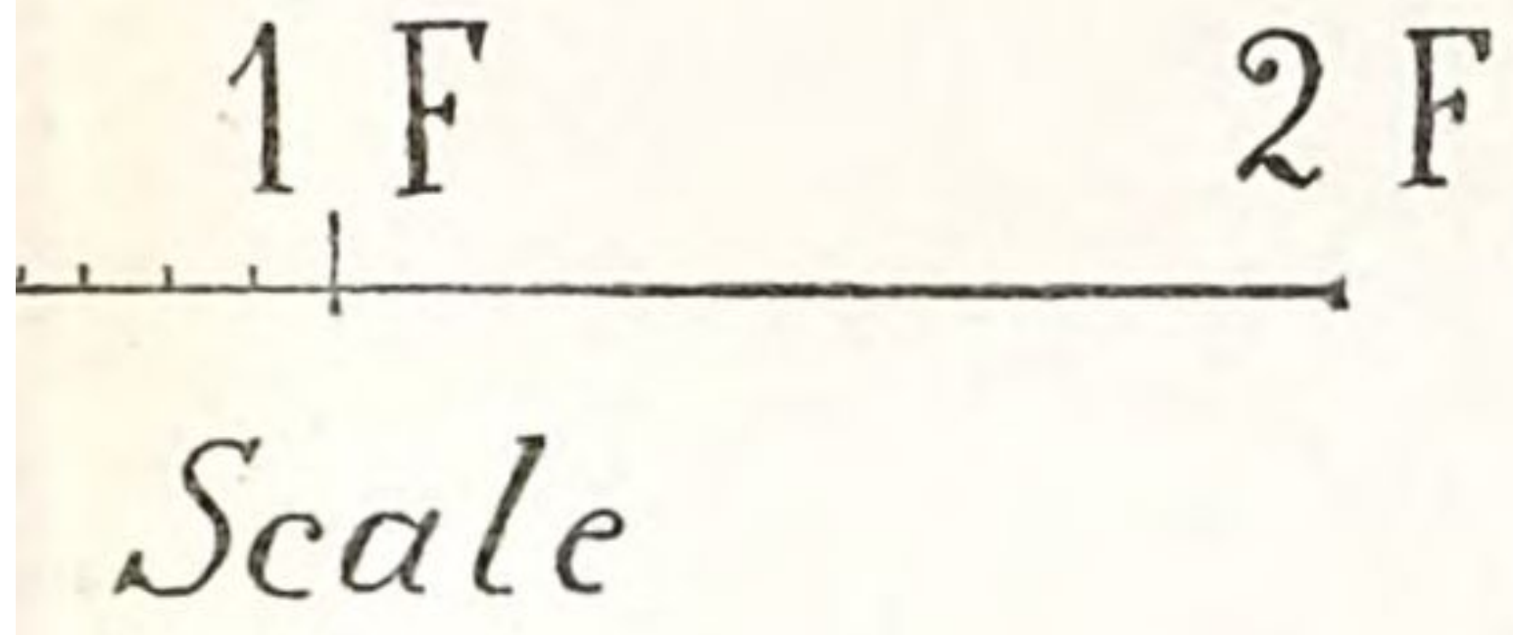

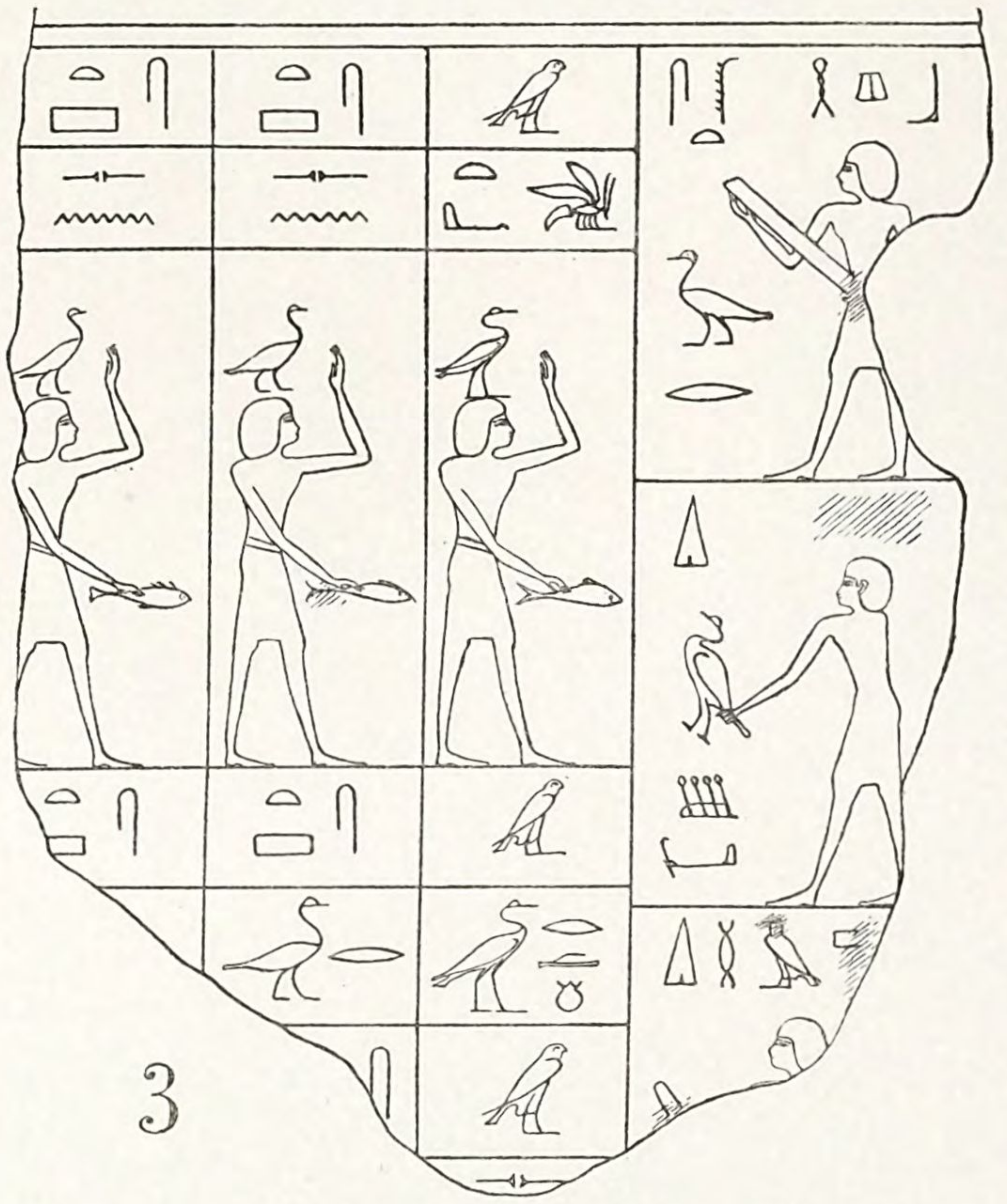

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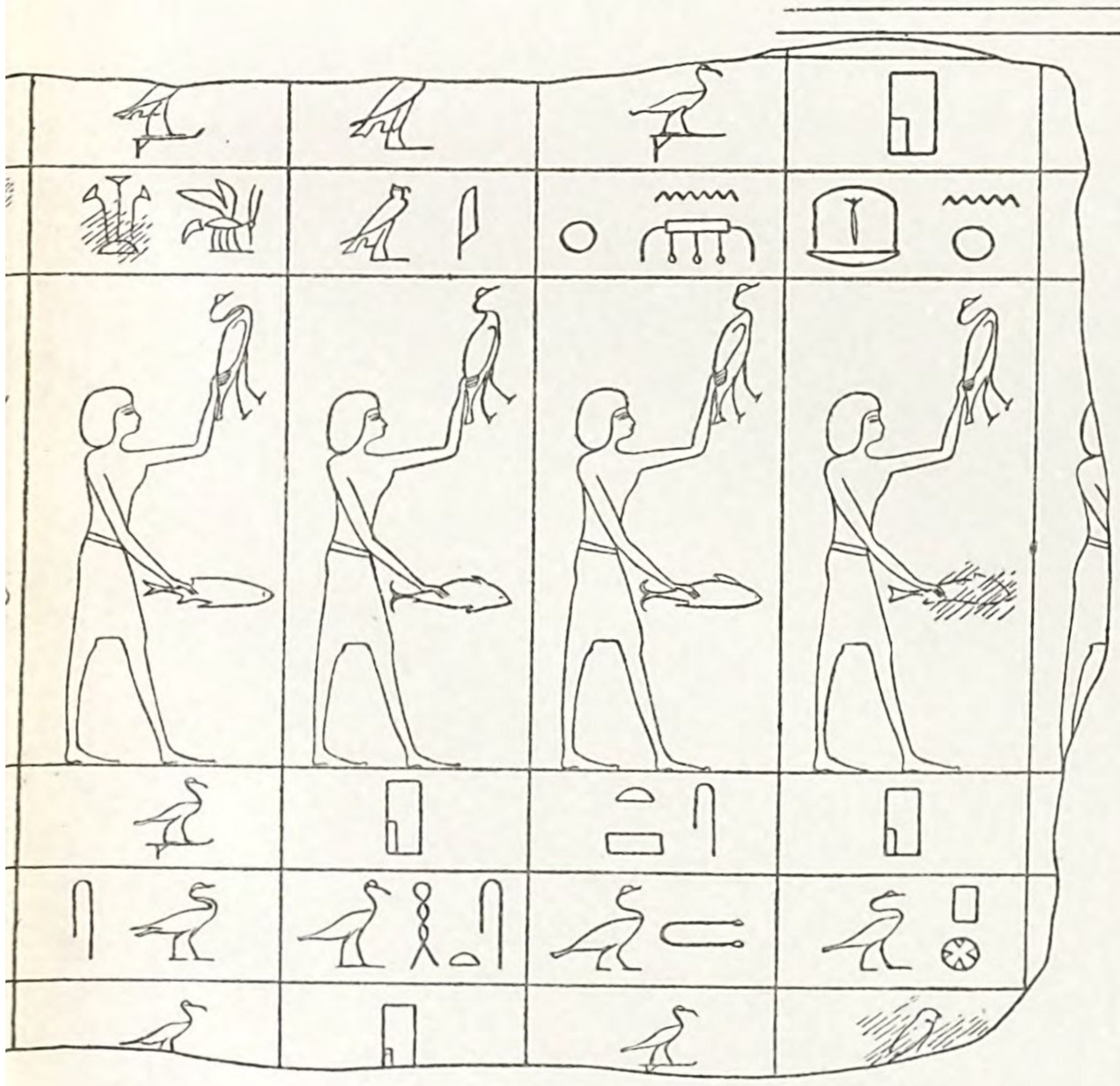

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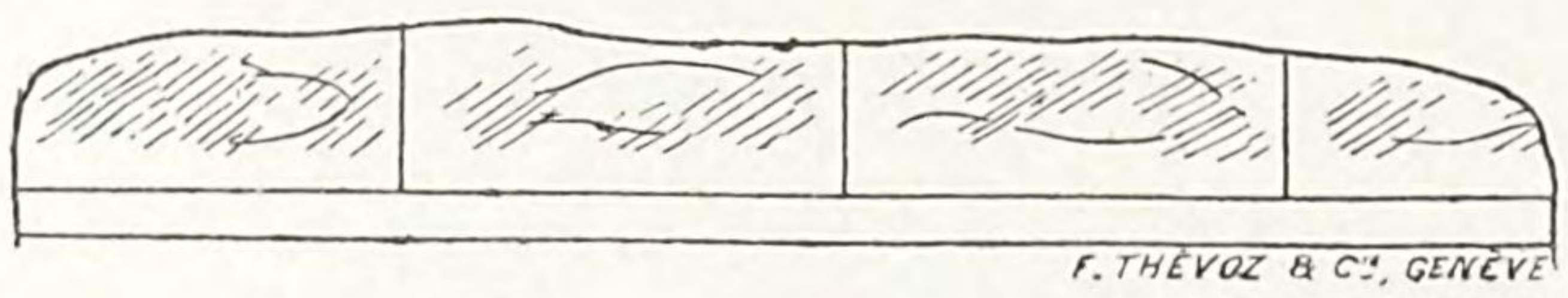

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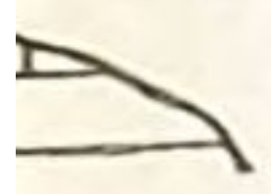
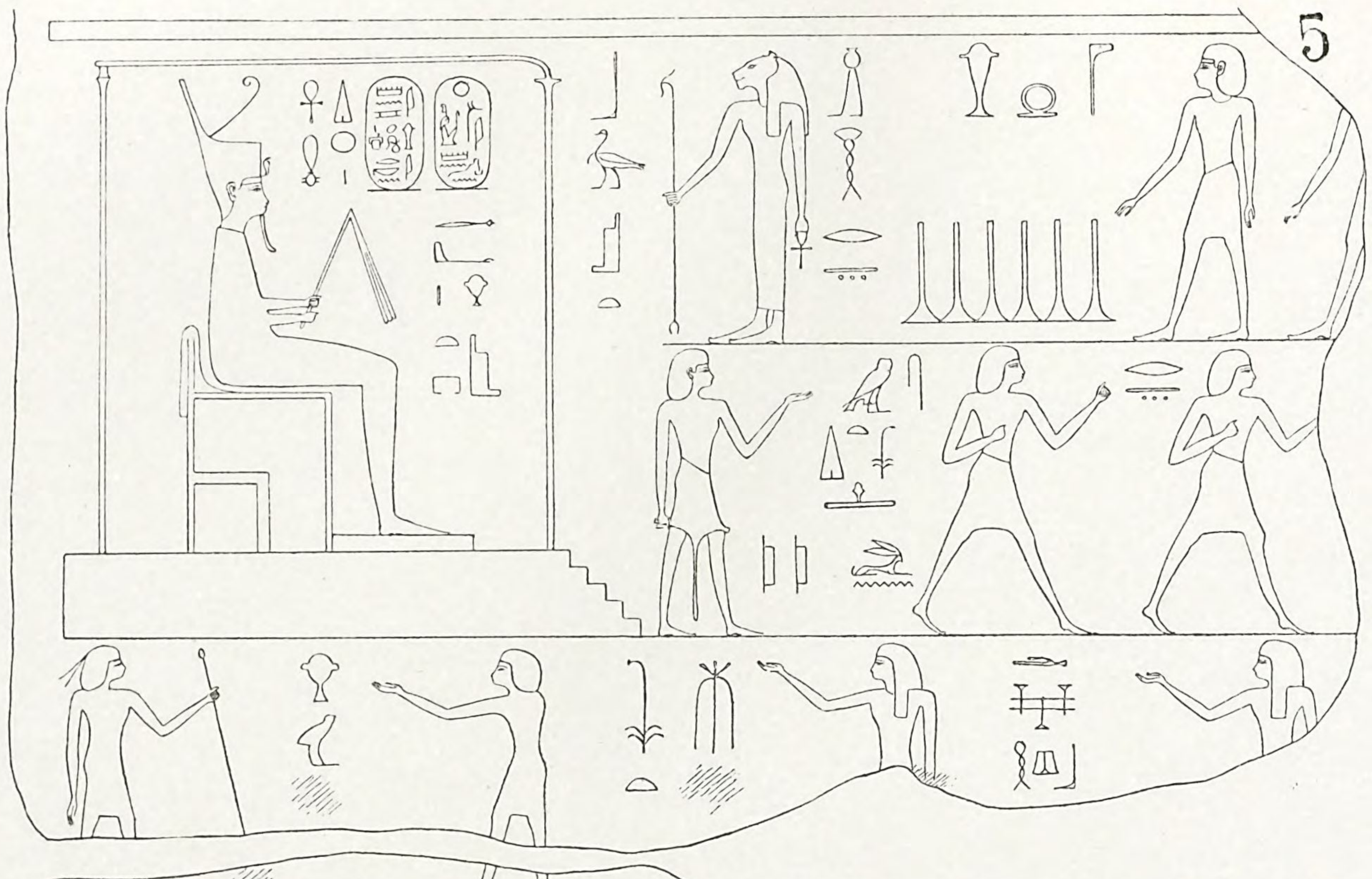


F. THÉVOZ & Cie, GENÈVE



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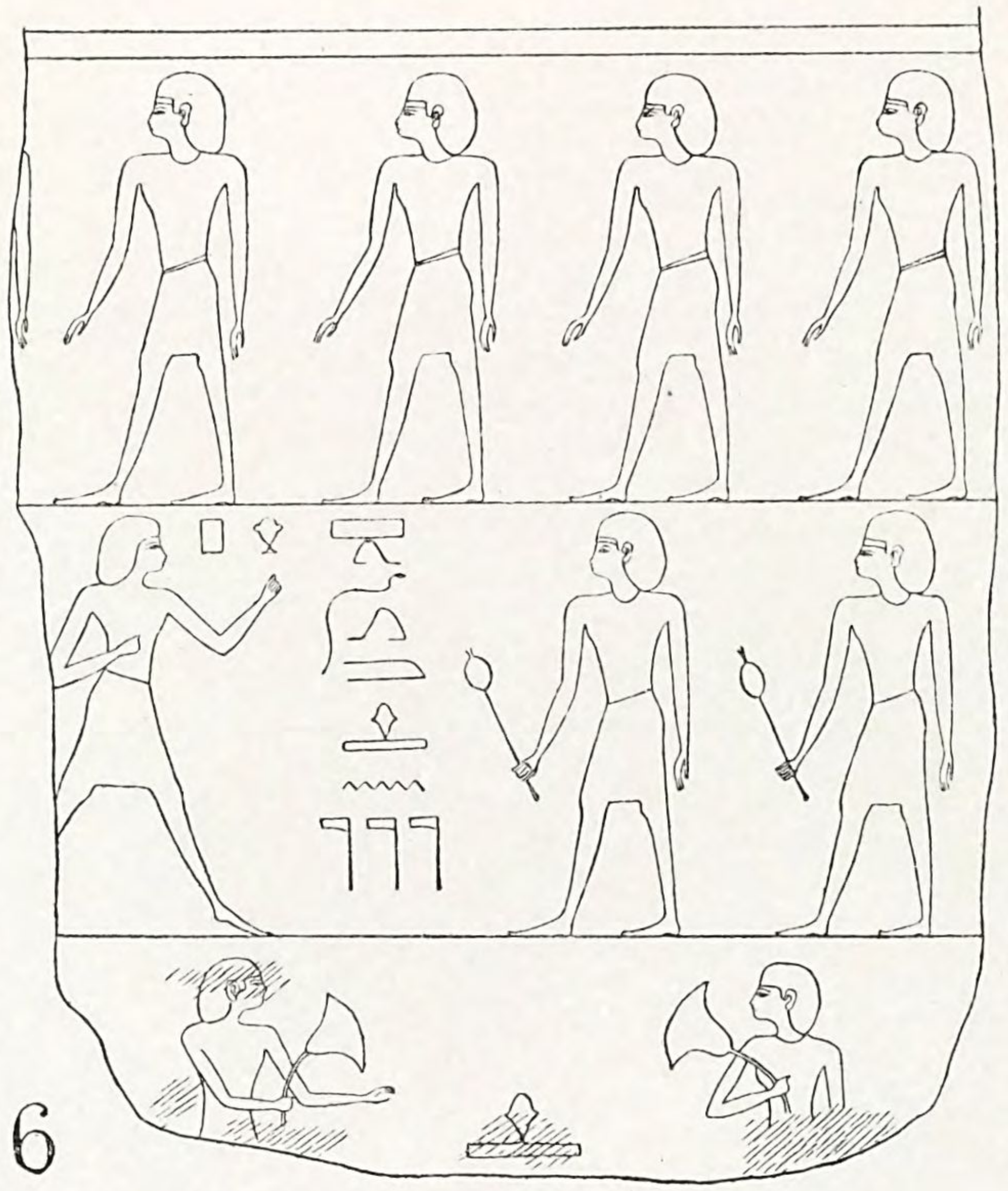

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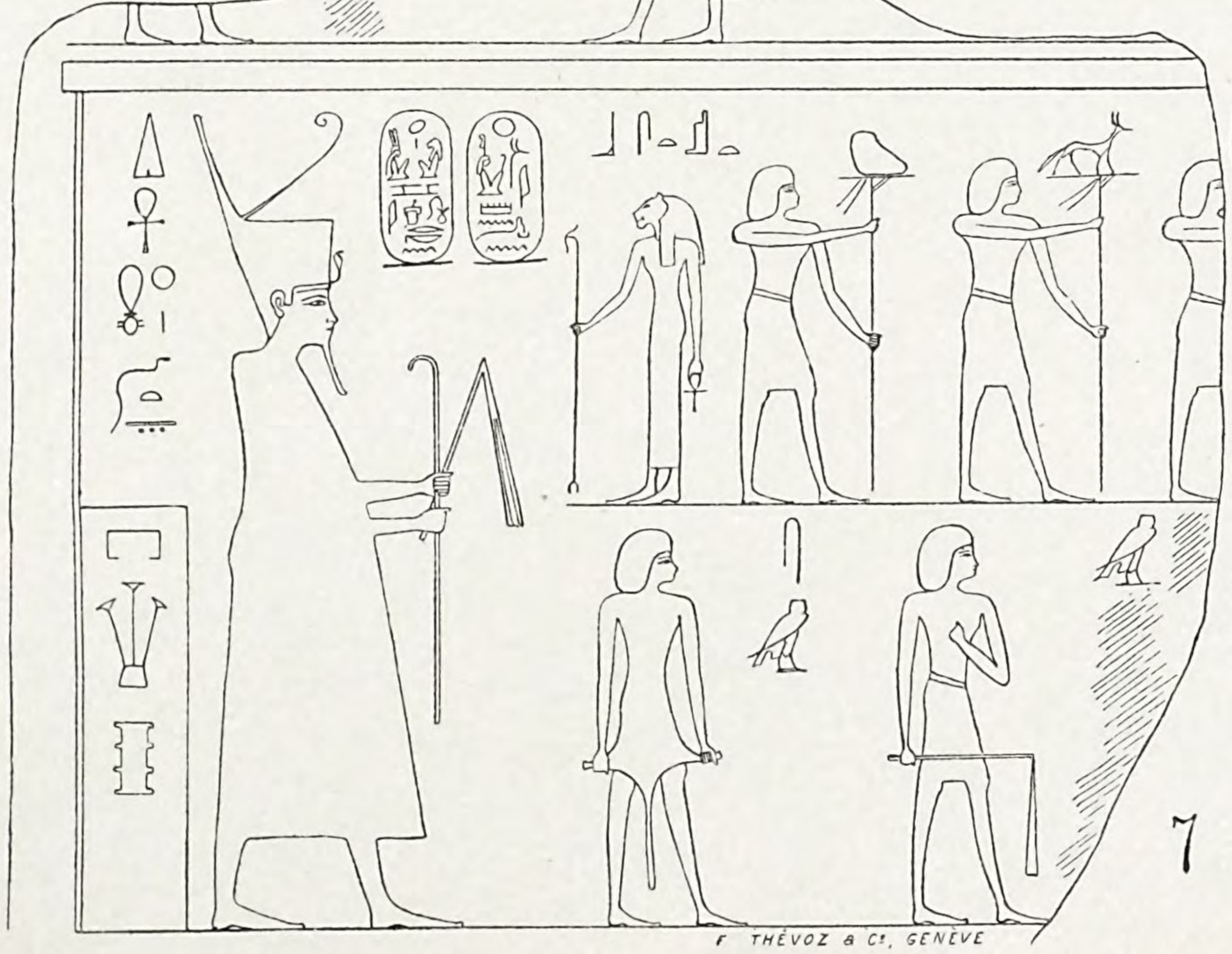

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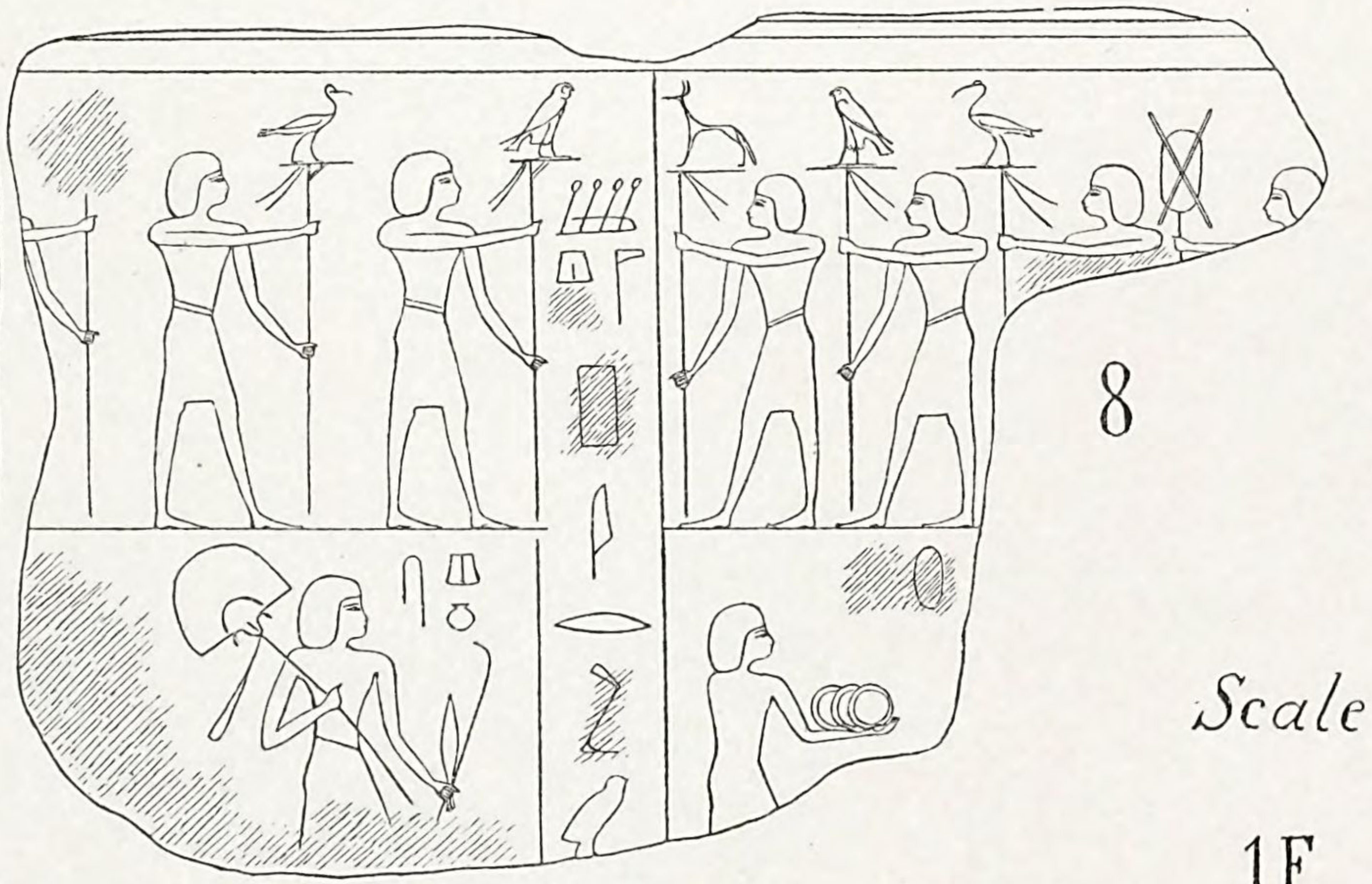

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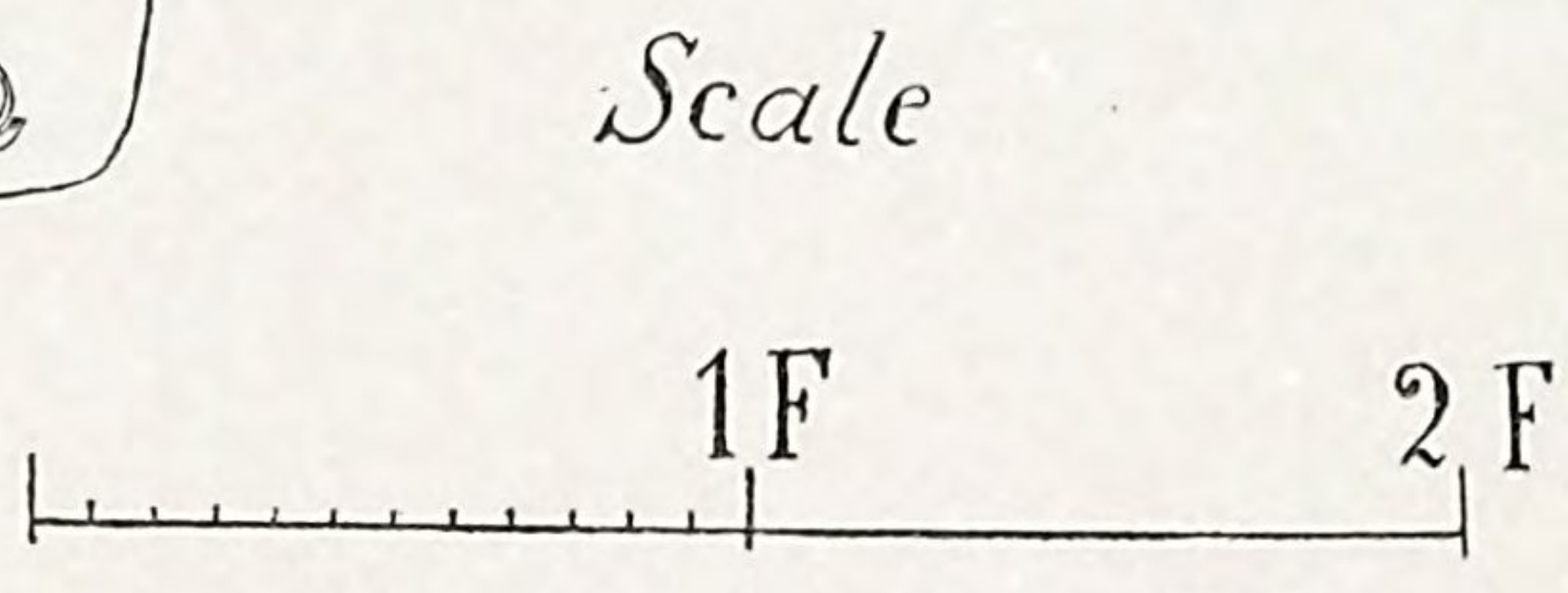
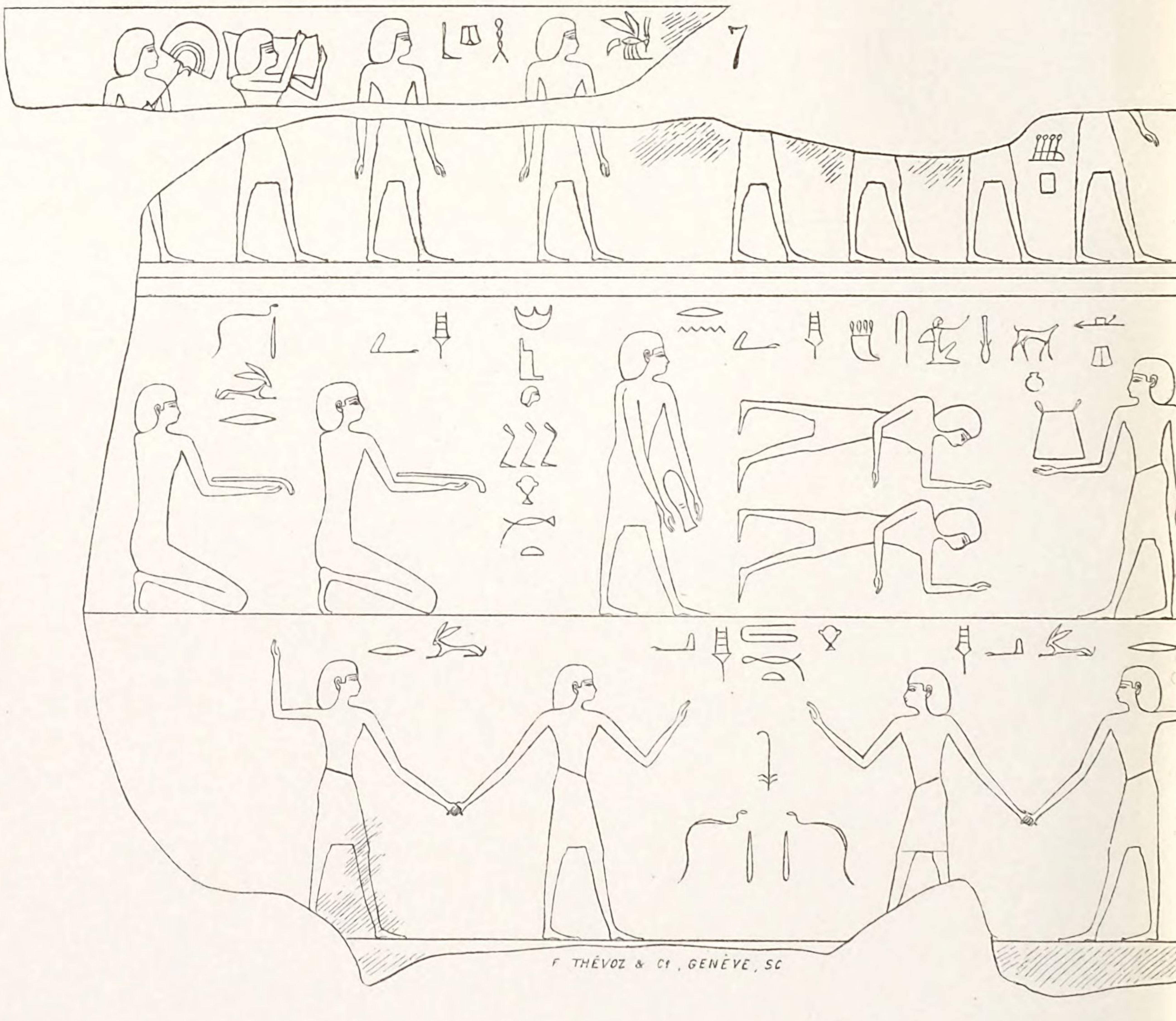


F. THÉVOZ & Cie, GENÈVE



F. THÉVOZ & Cie, GENÈVE, SC.

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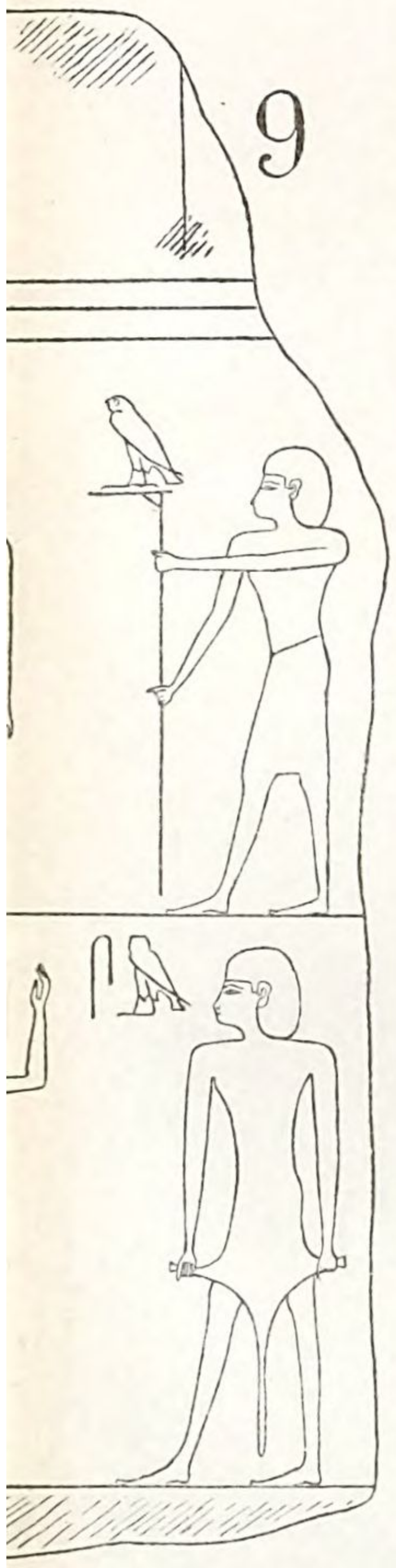

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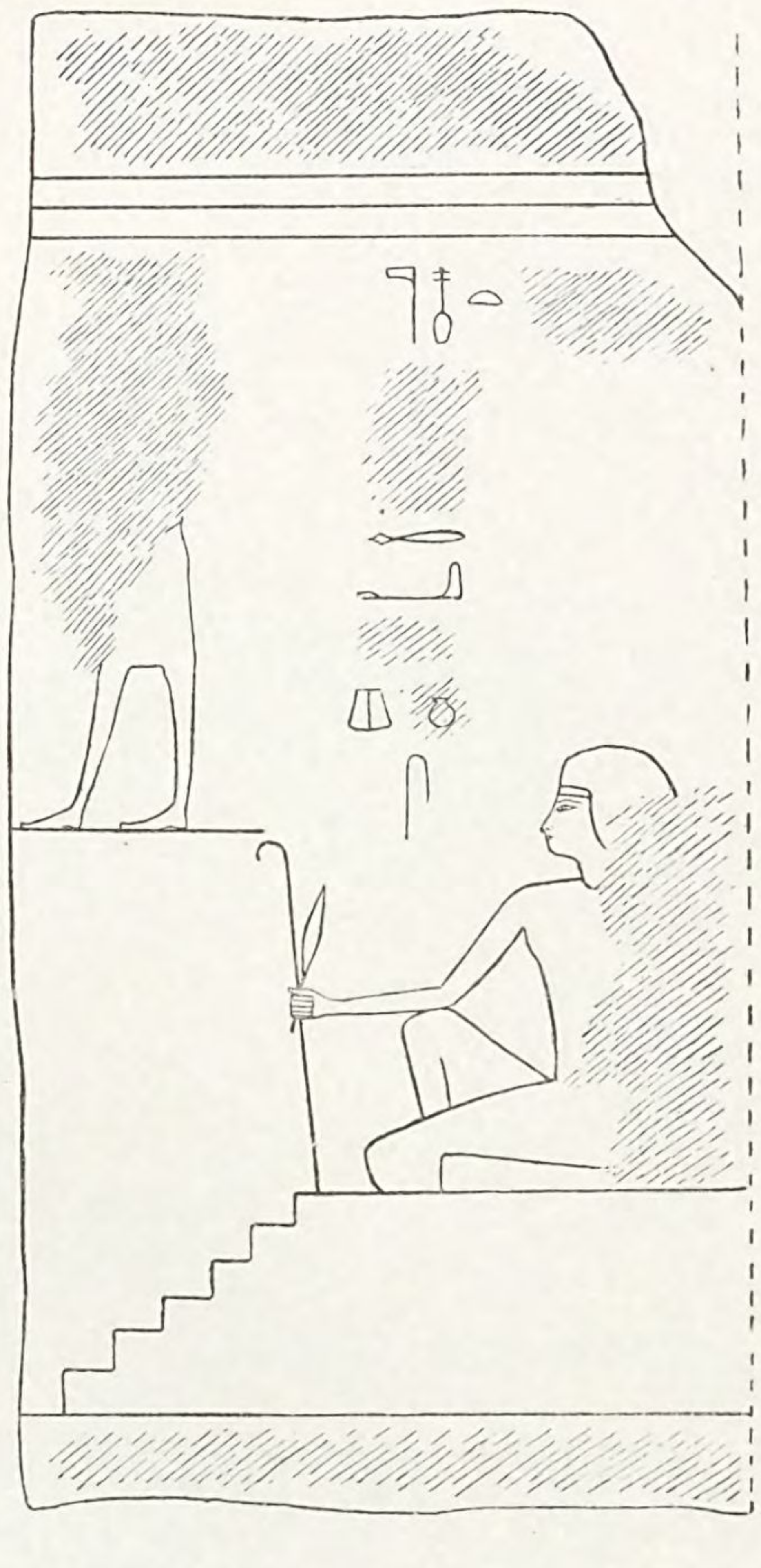

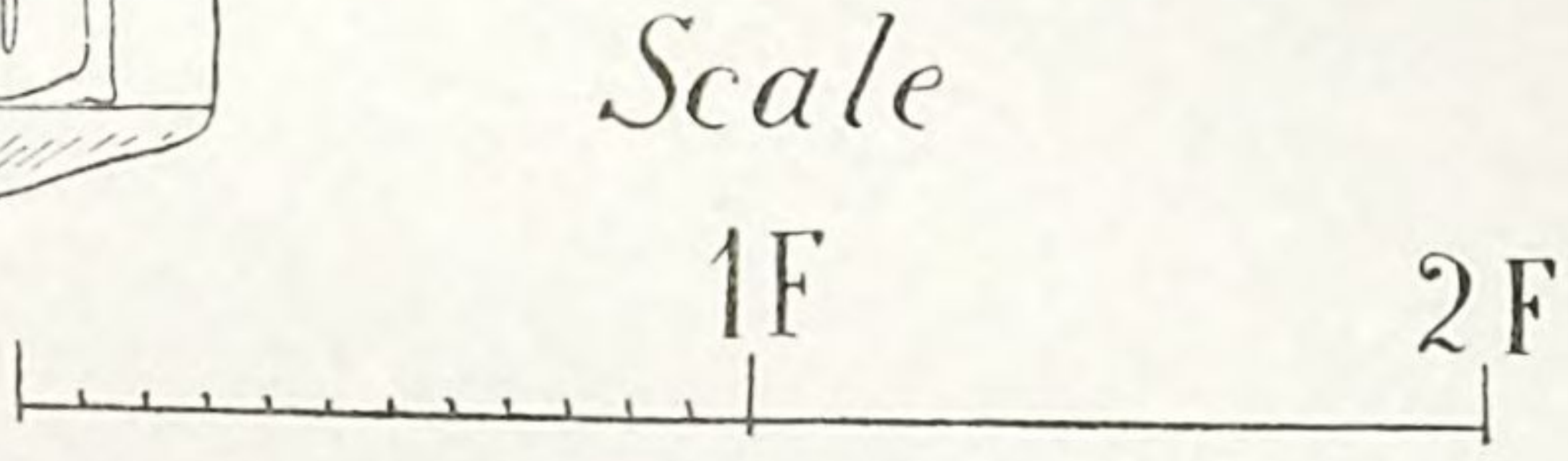

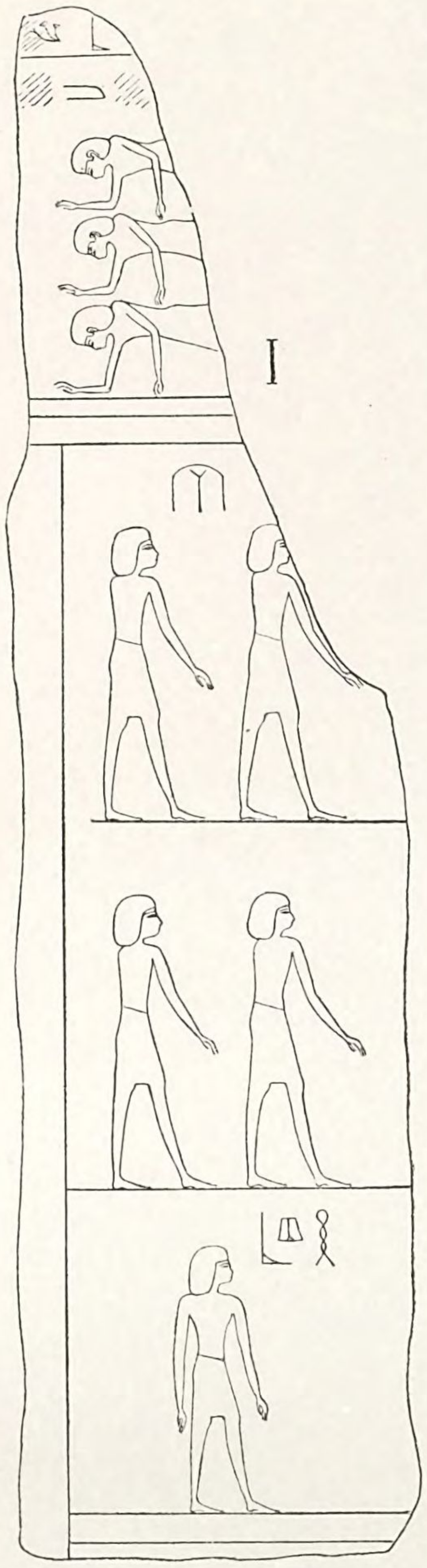

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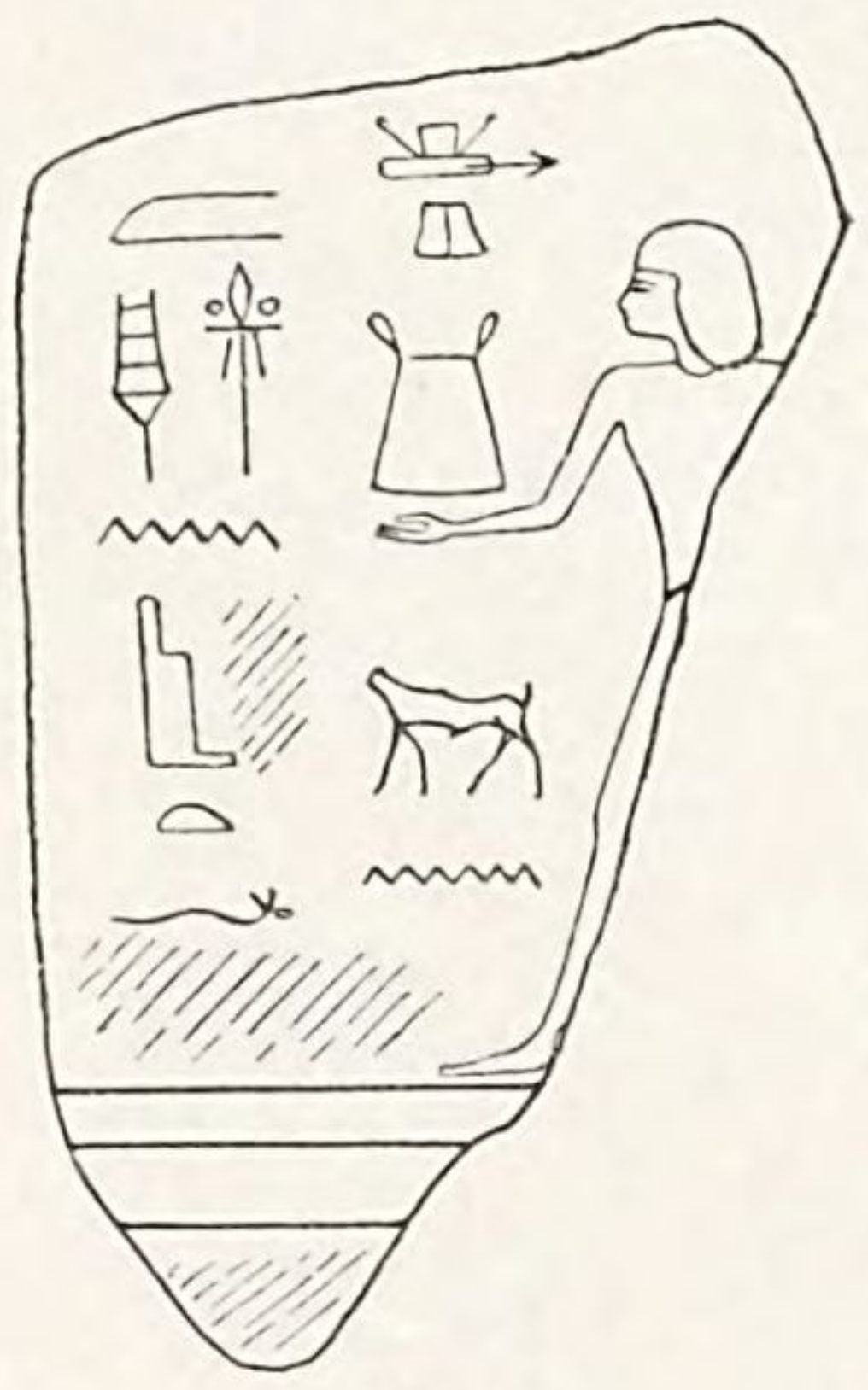

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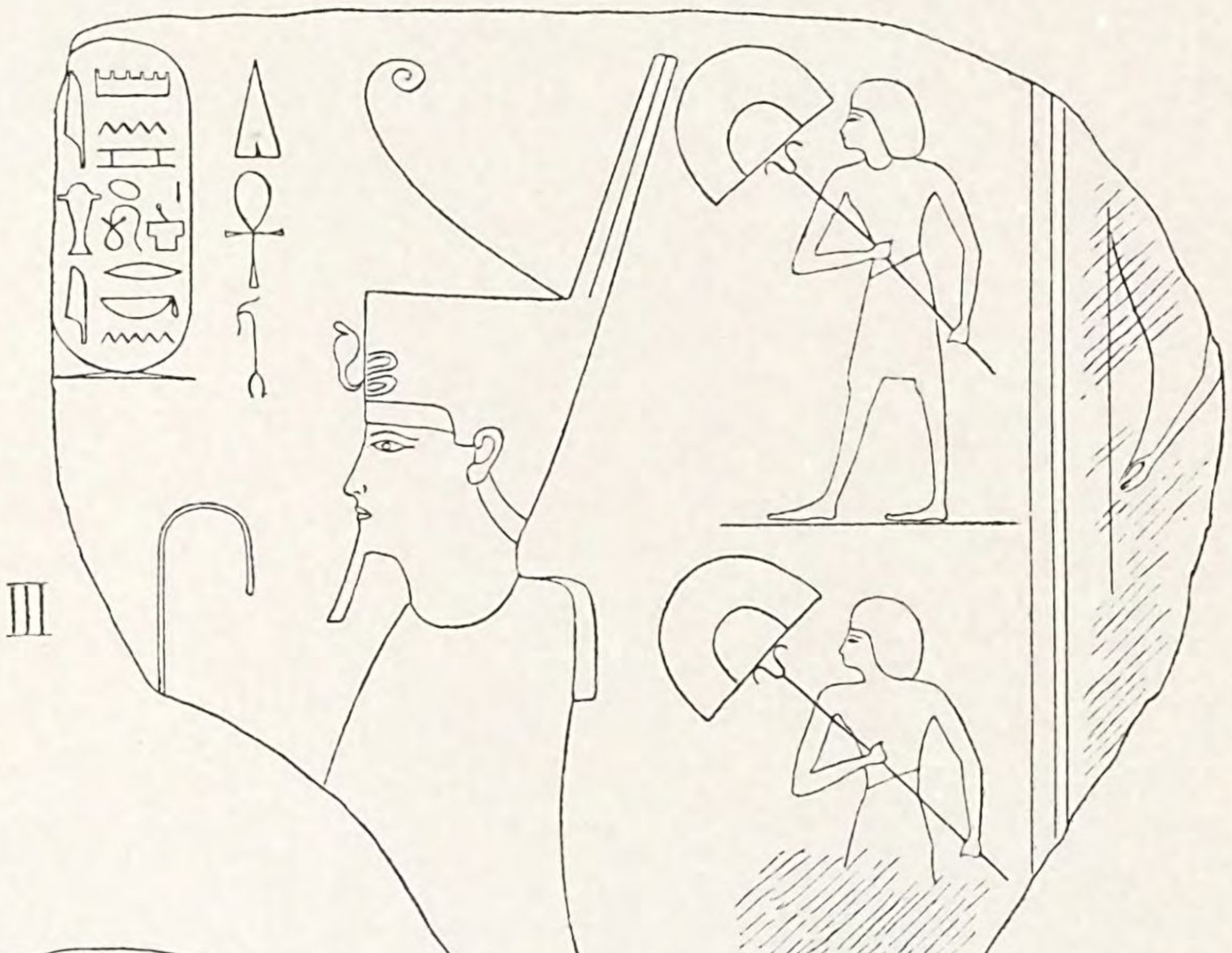

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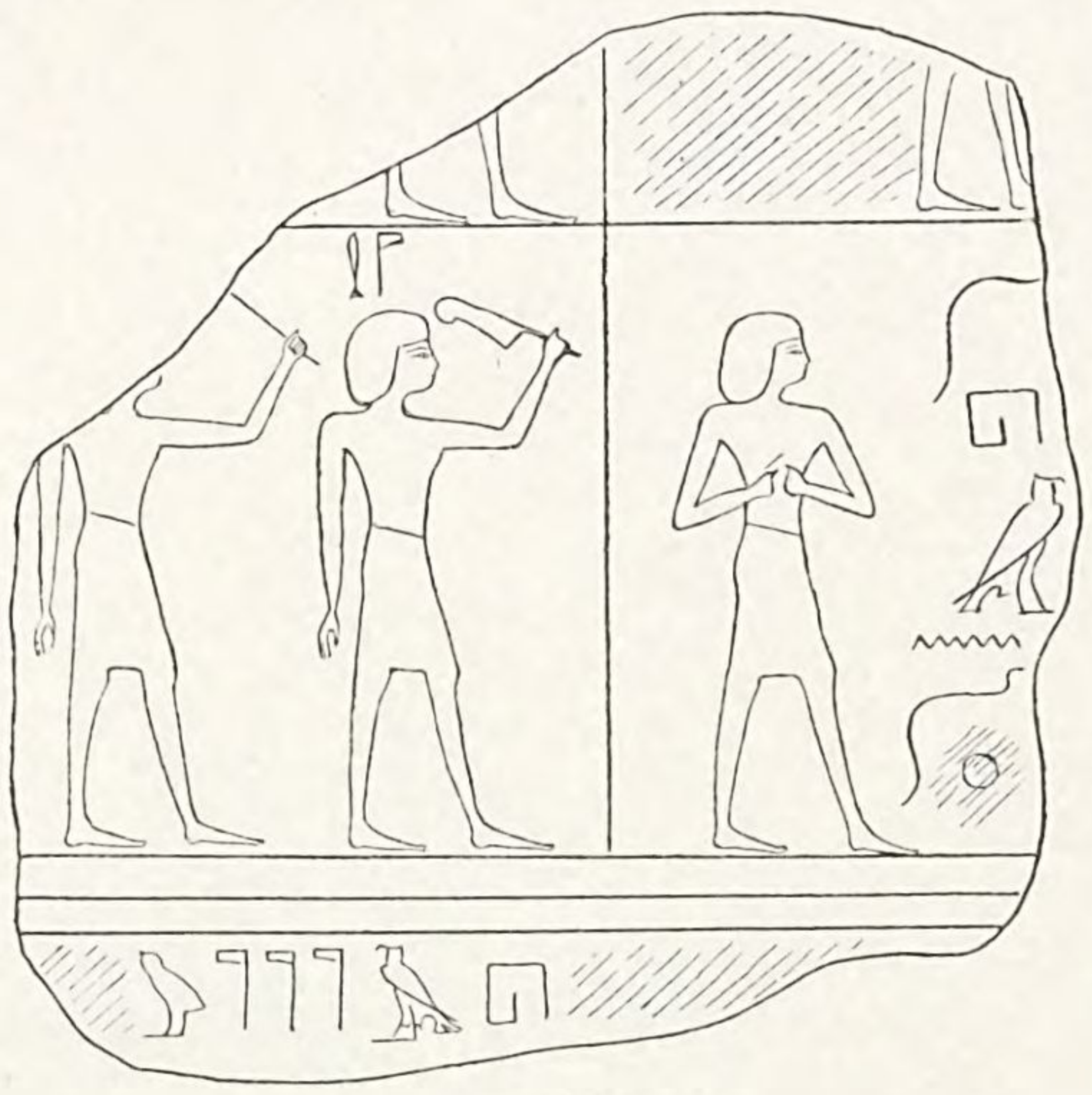

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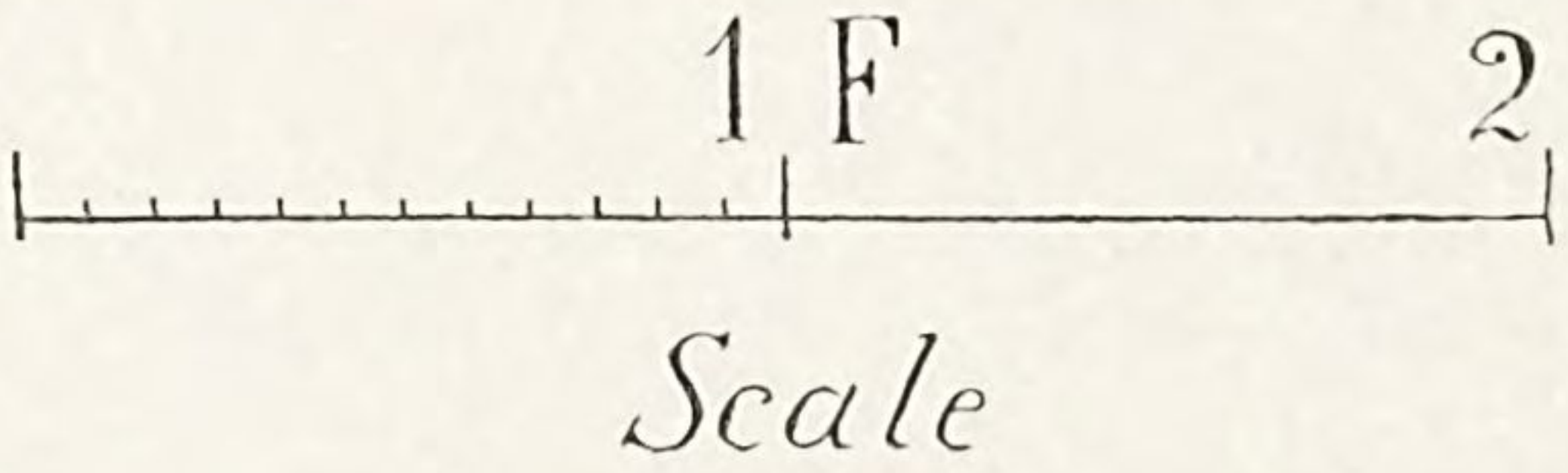

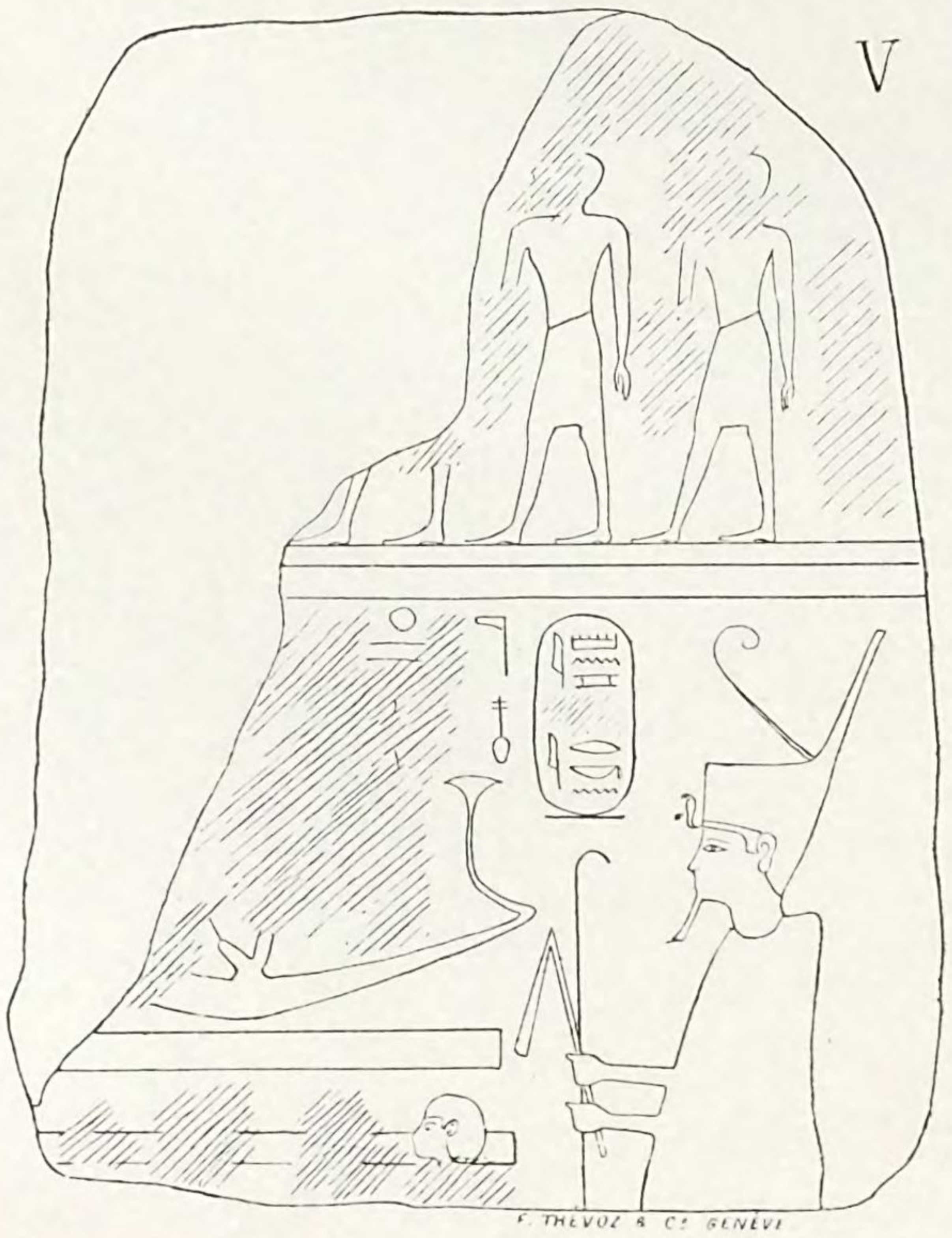

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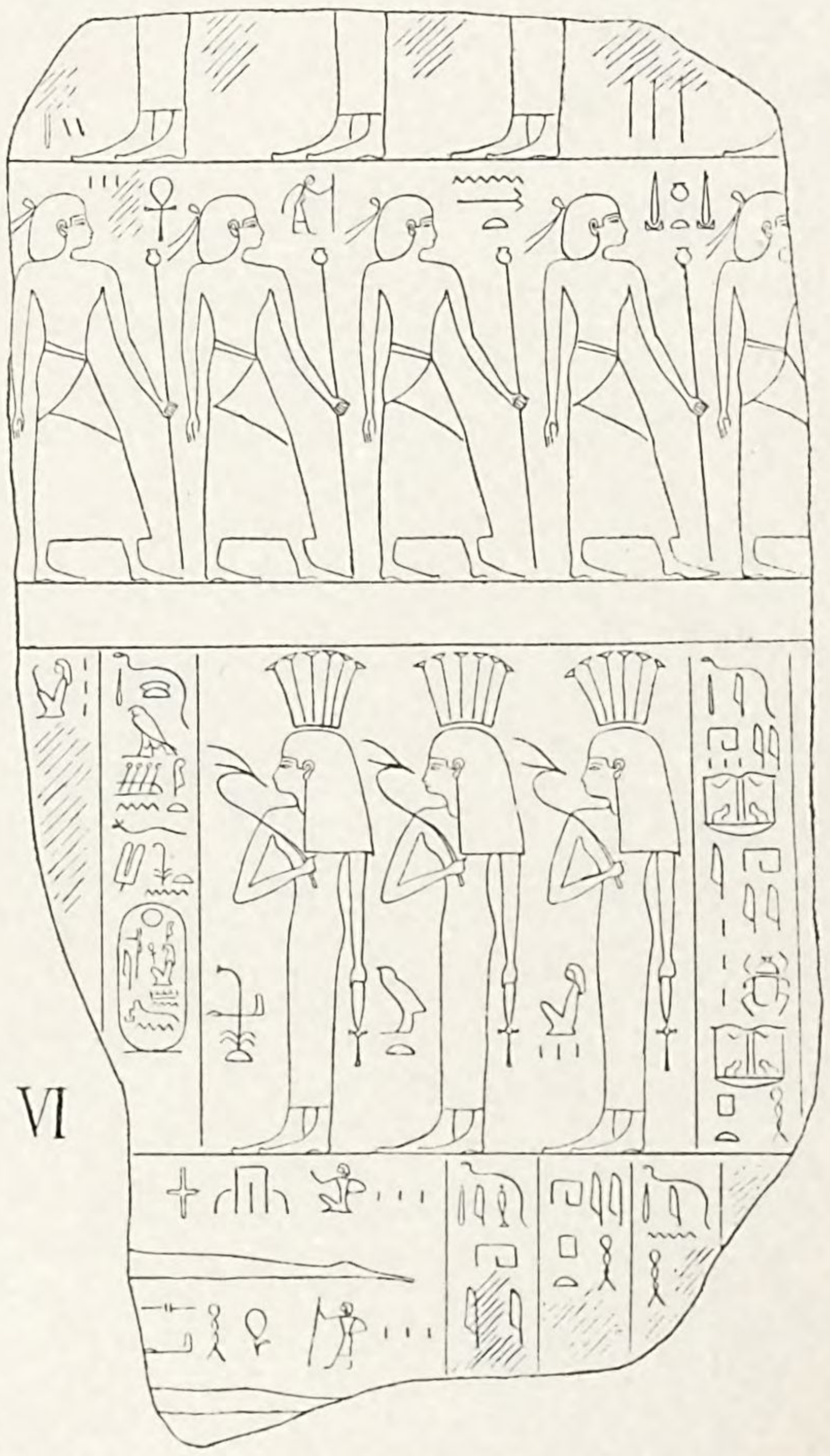
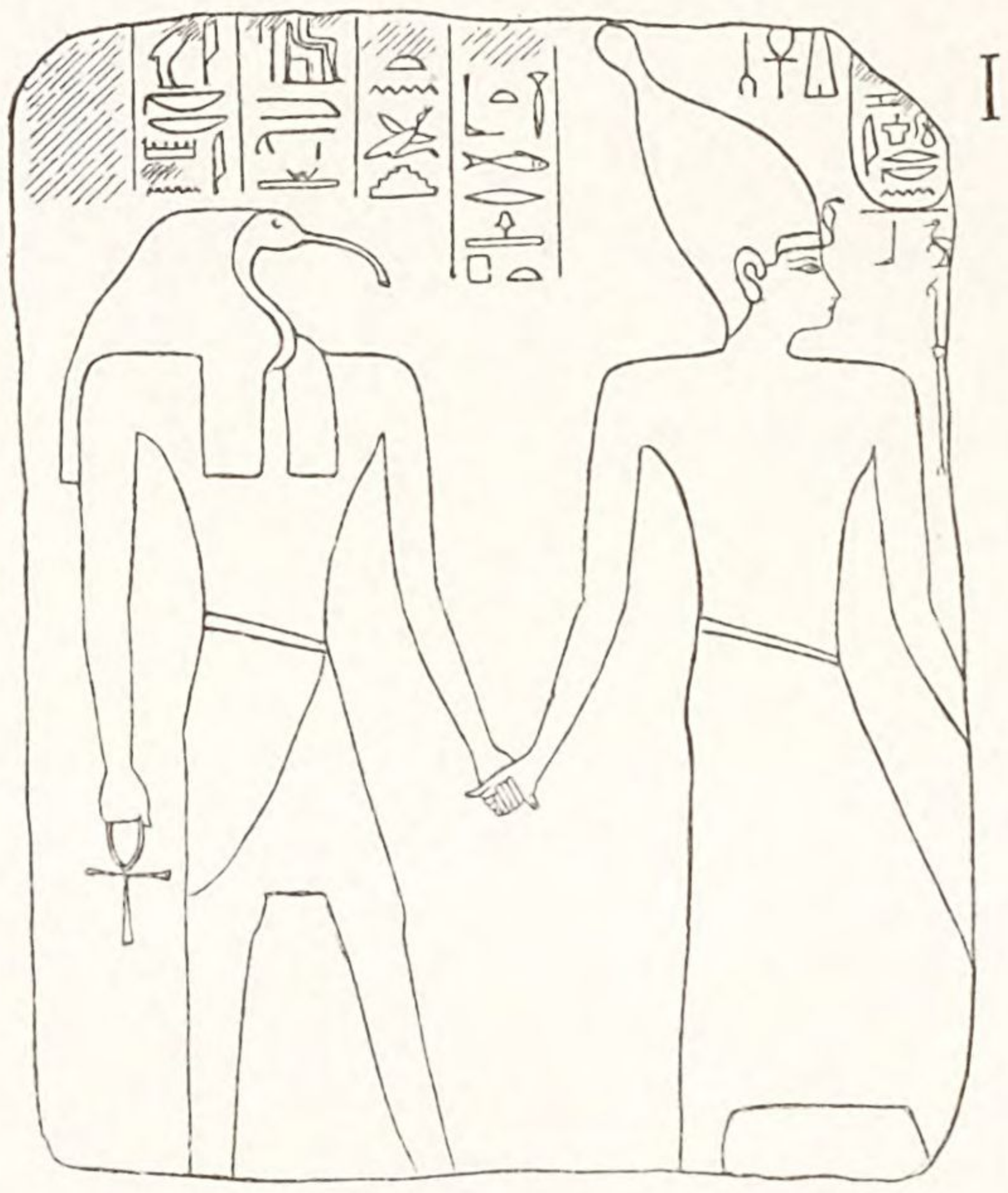


VI

F. THEVOZ & Cie GENEVE



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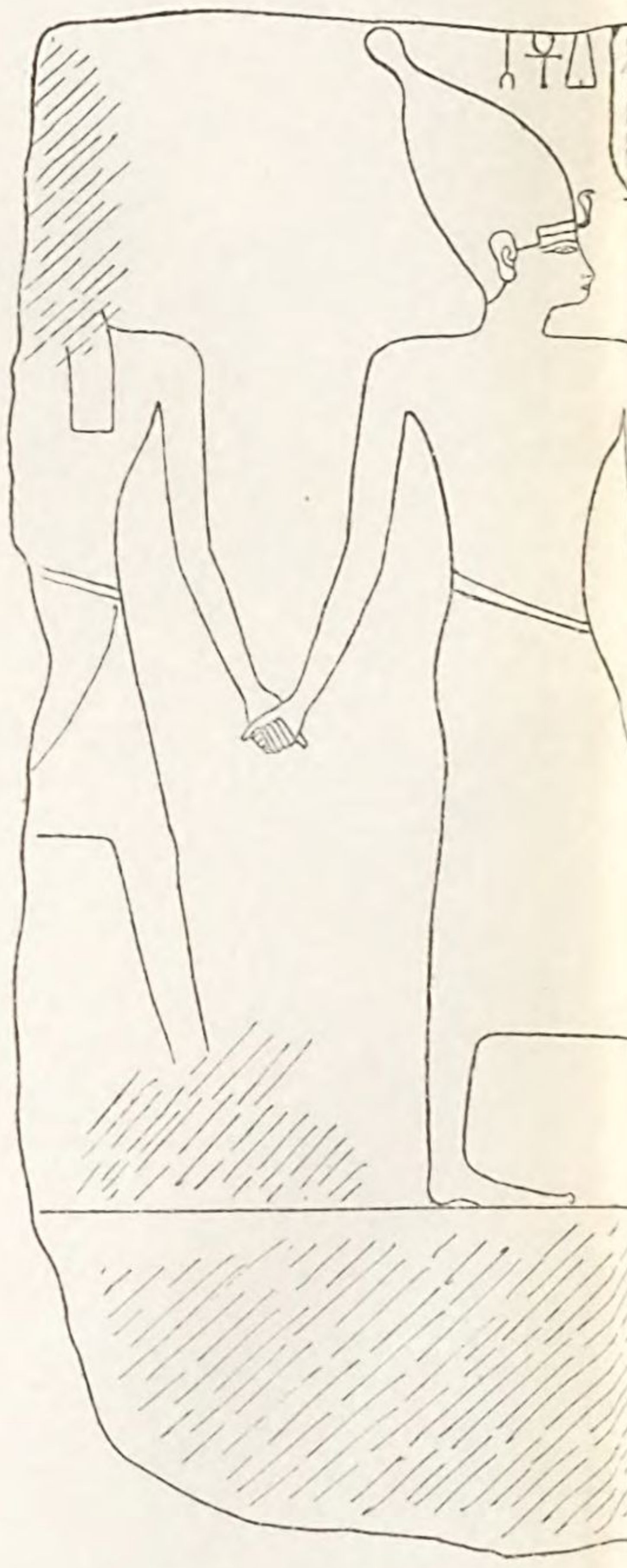

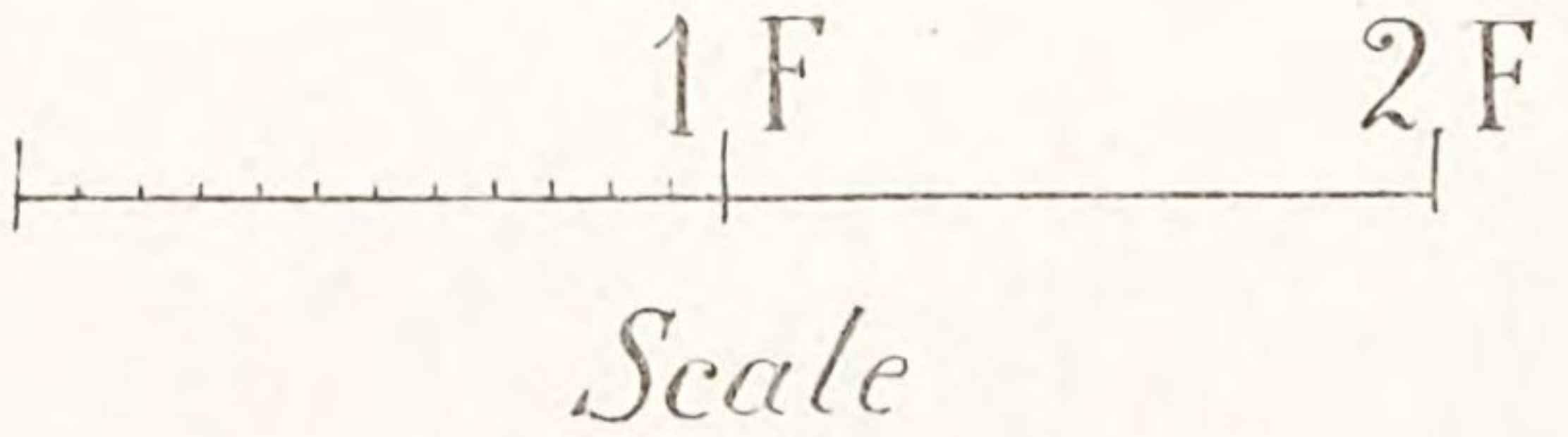

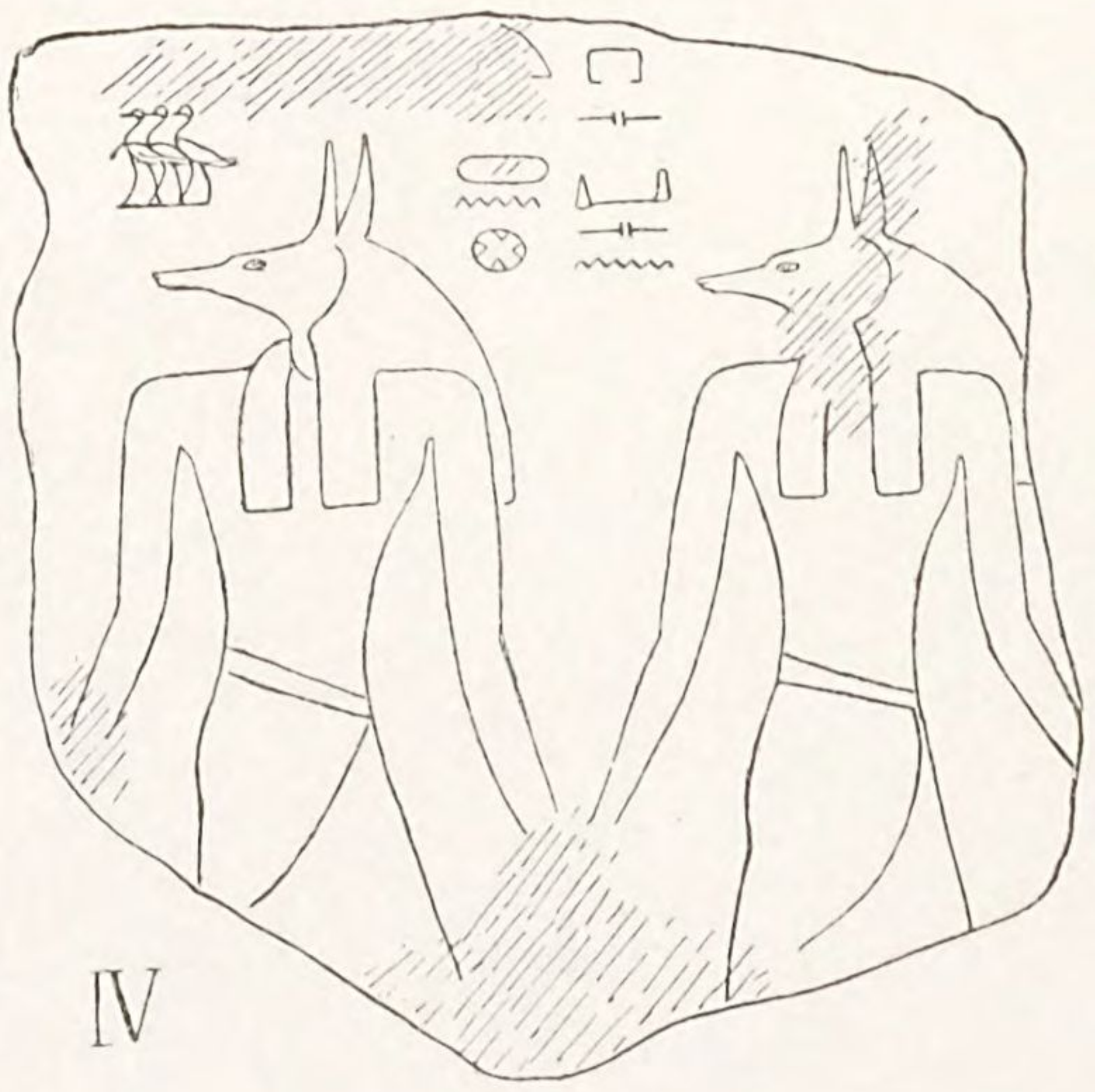

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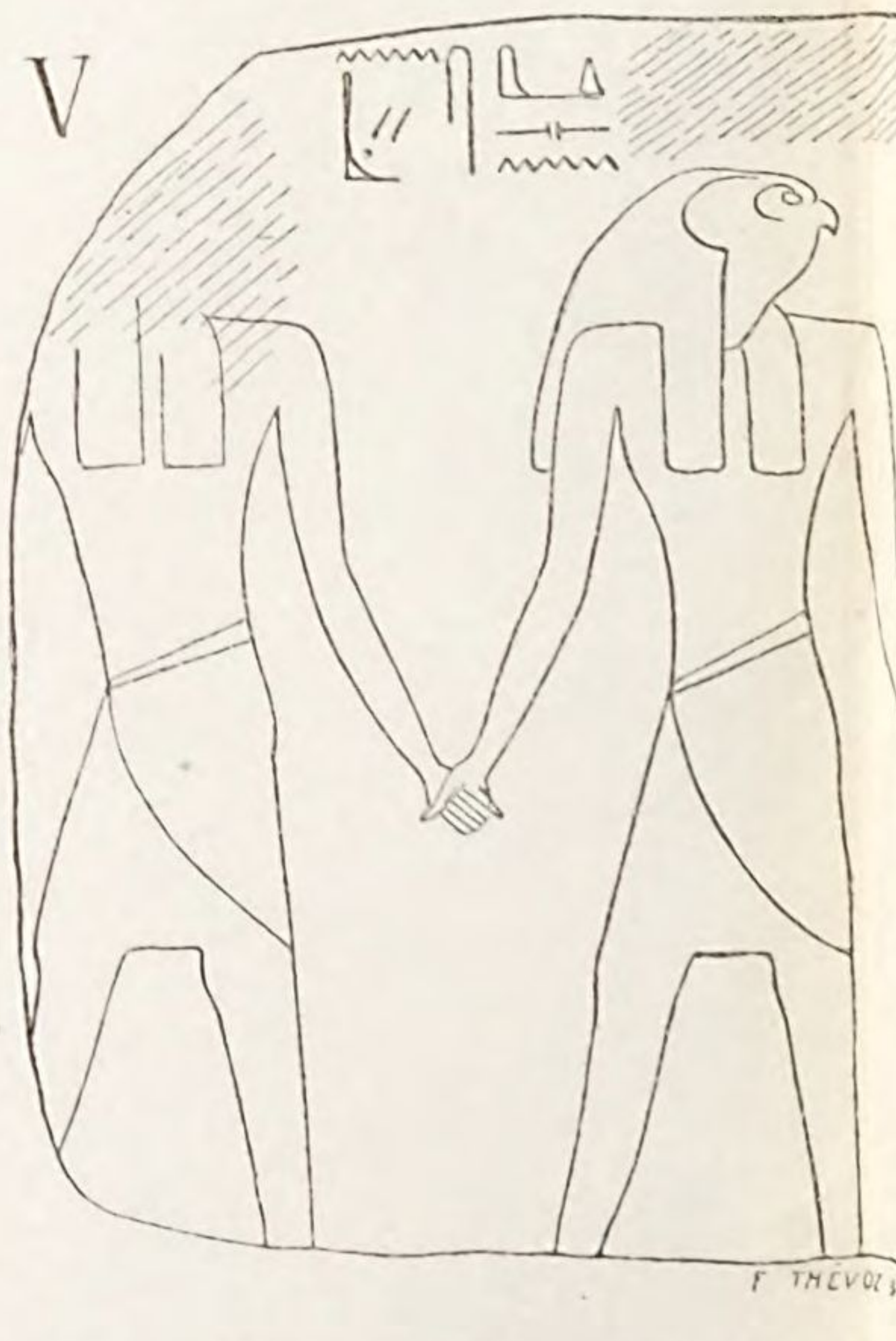

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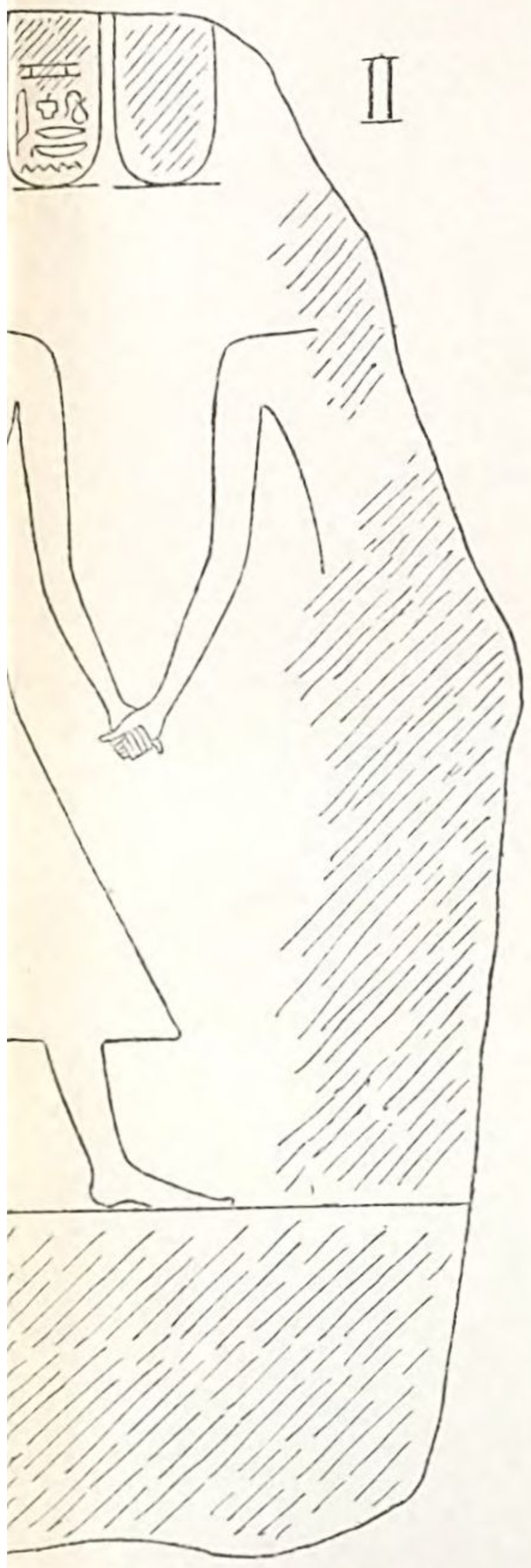

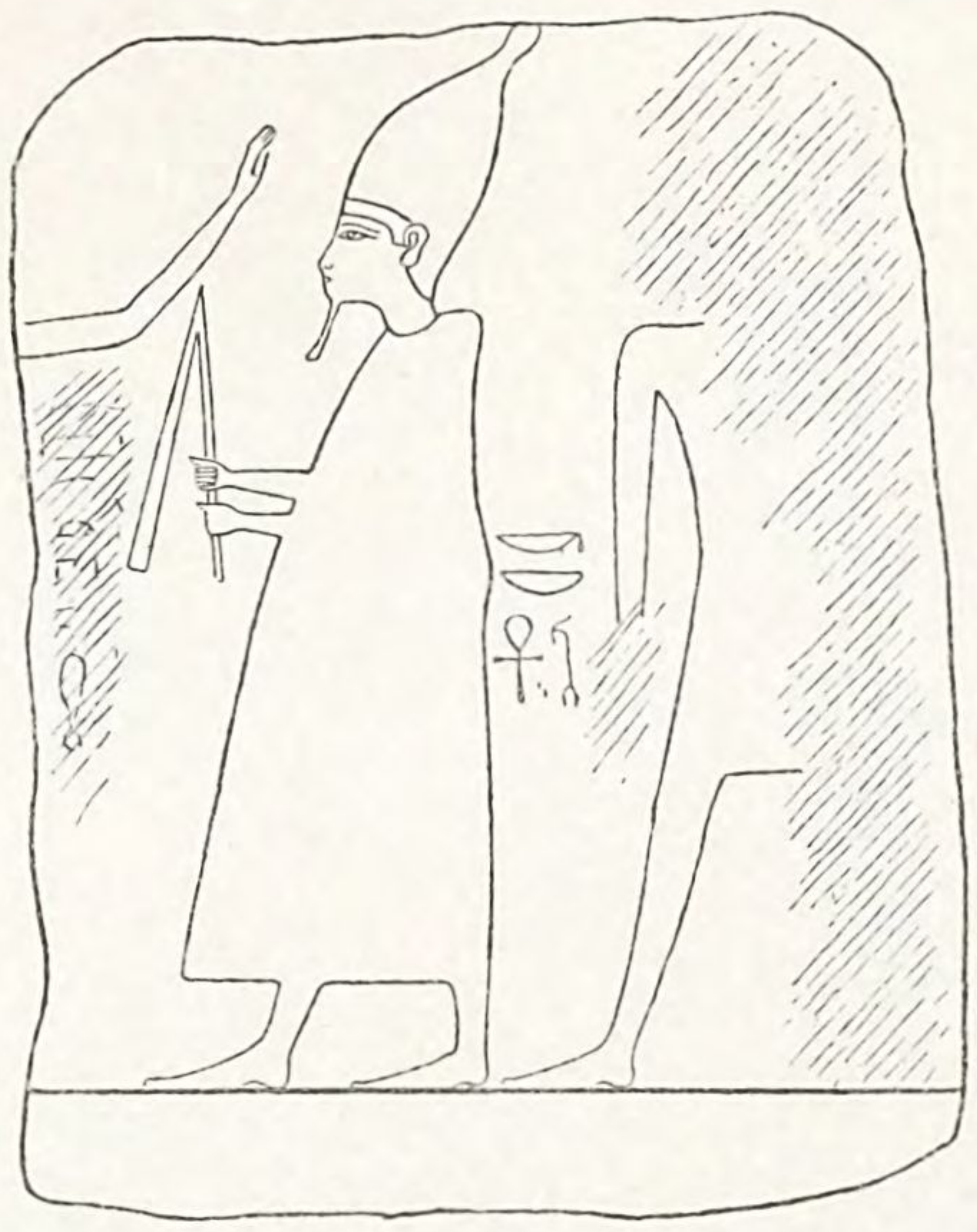

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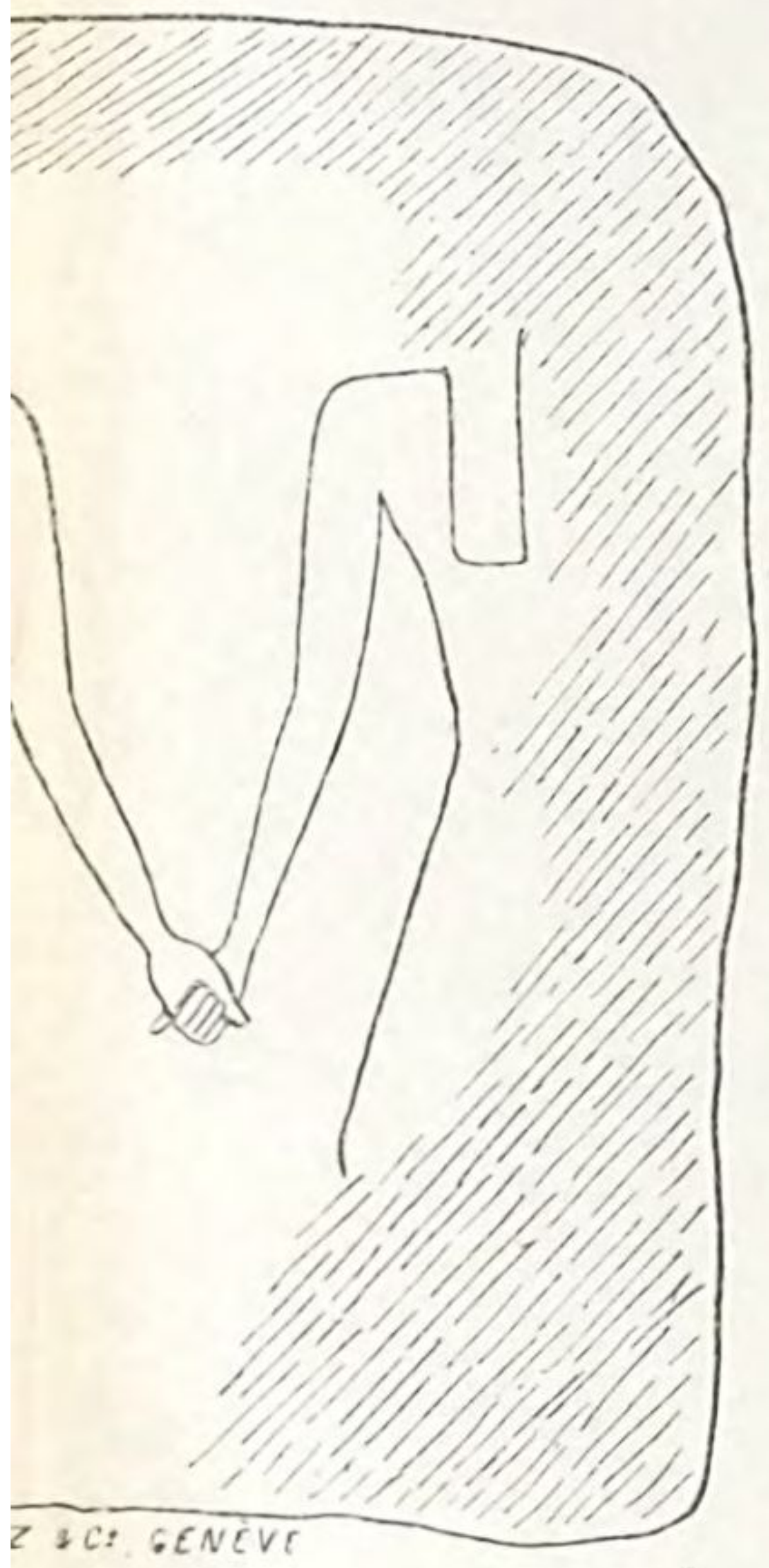

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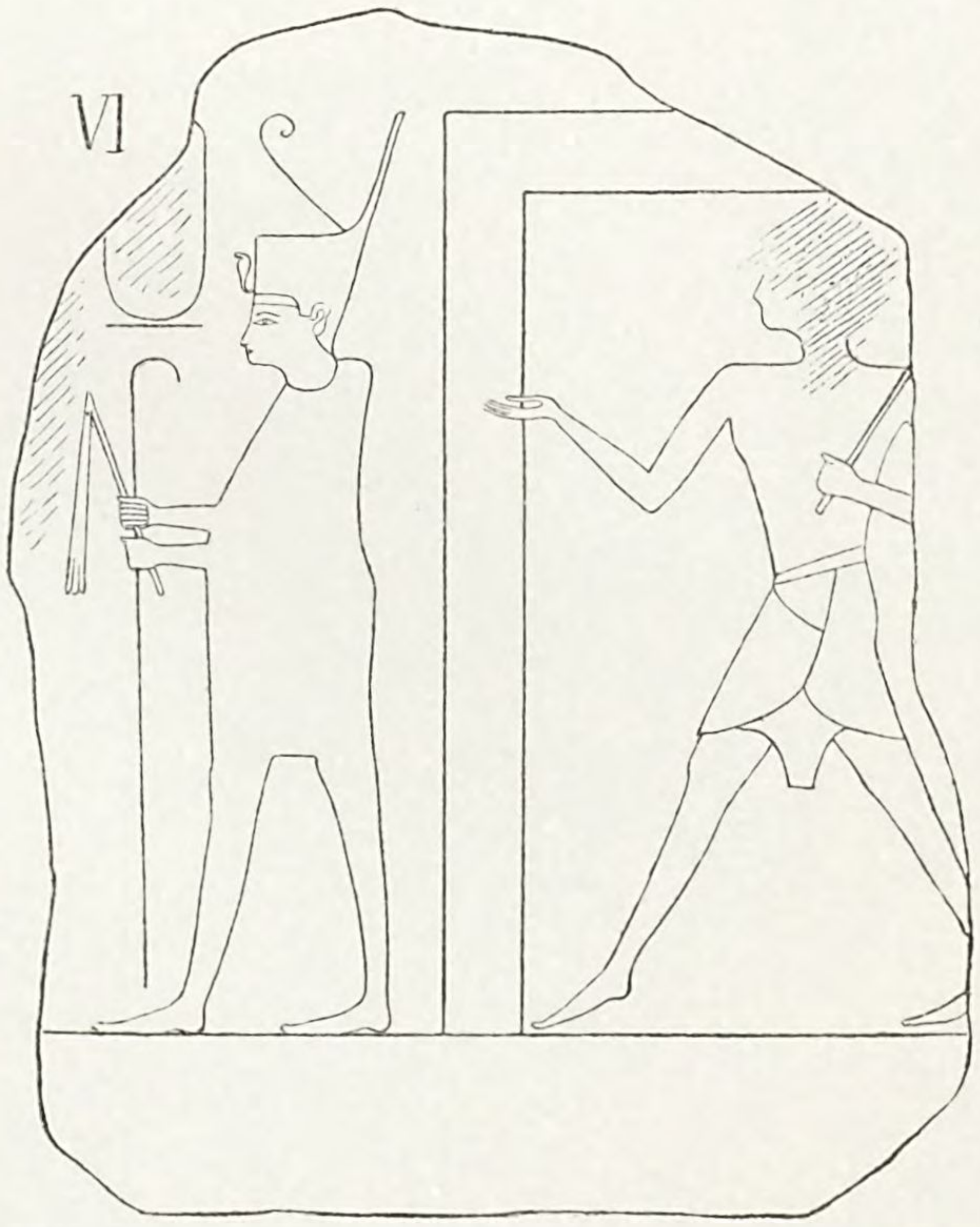

Z & Cie. GENÈVE

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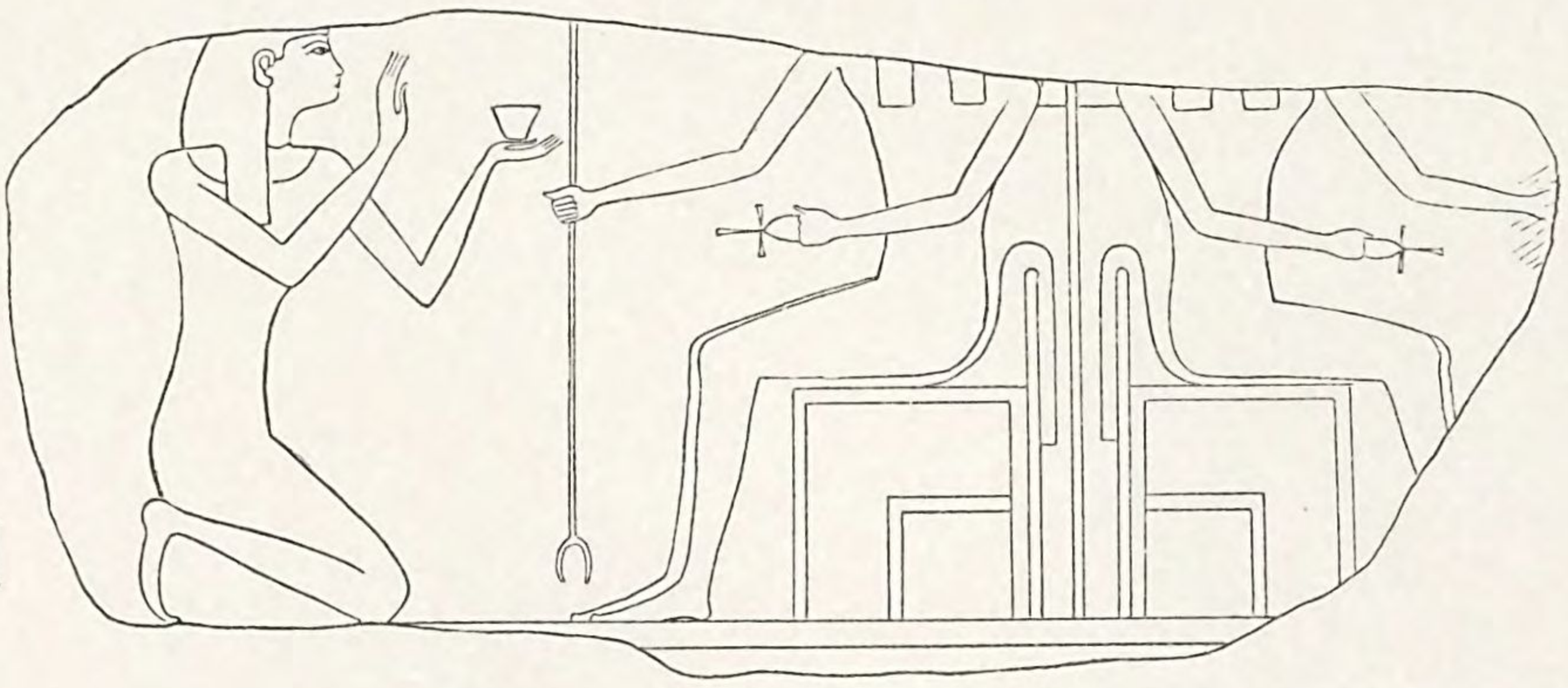

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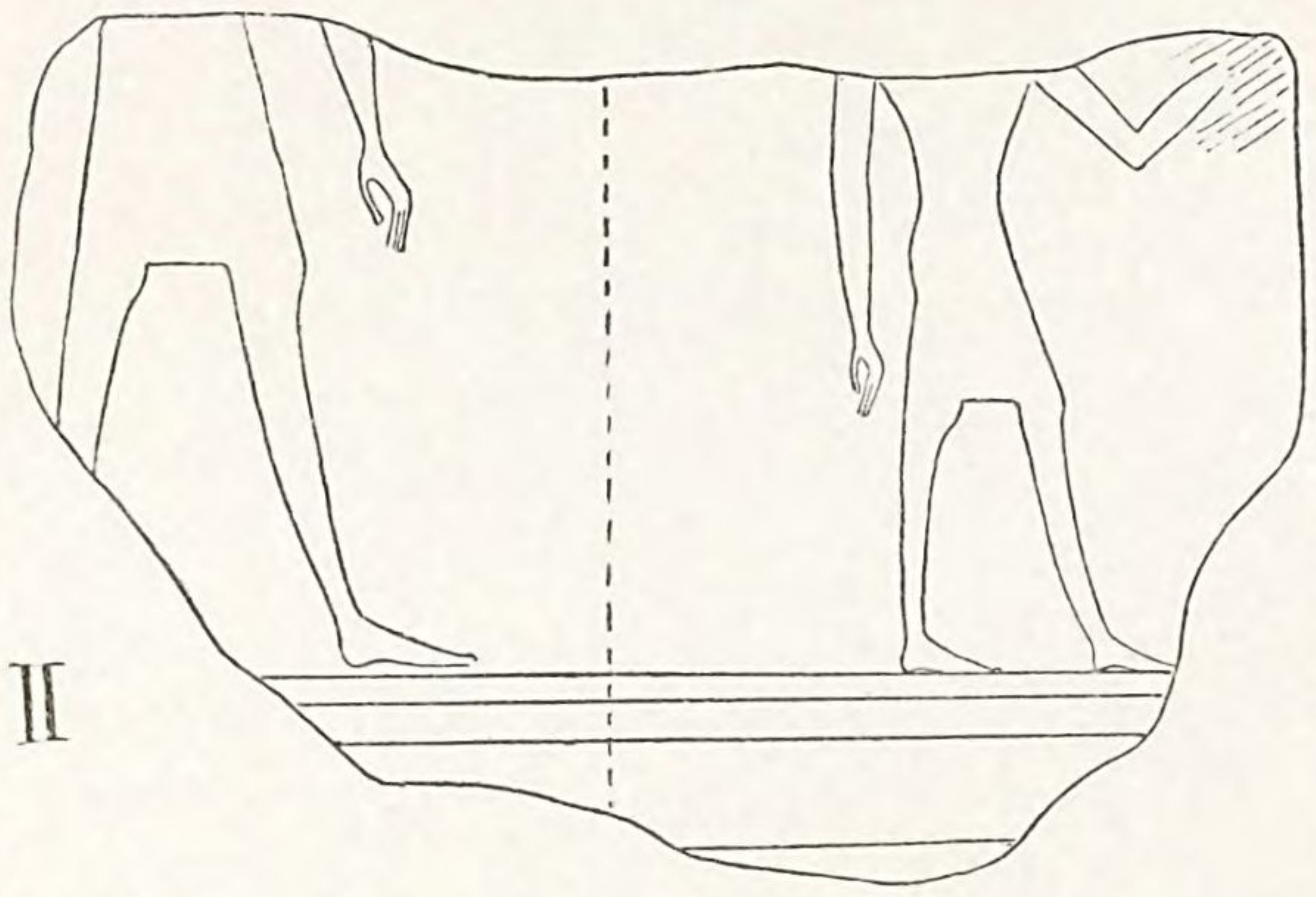

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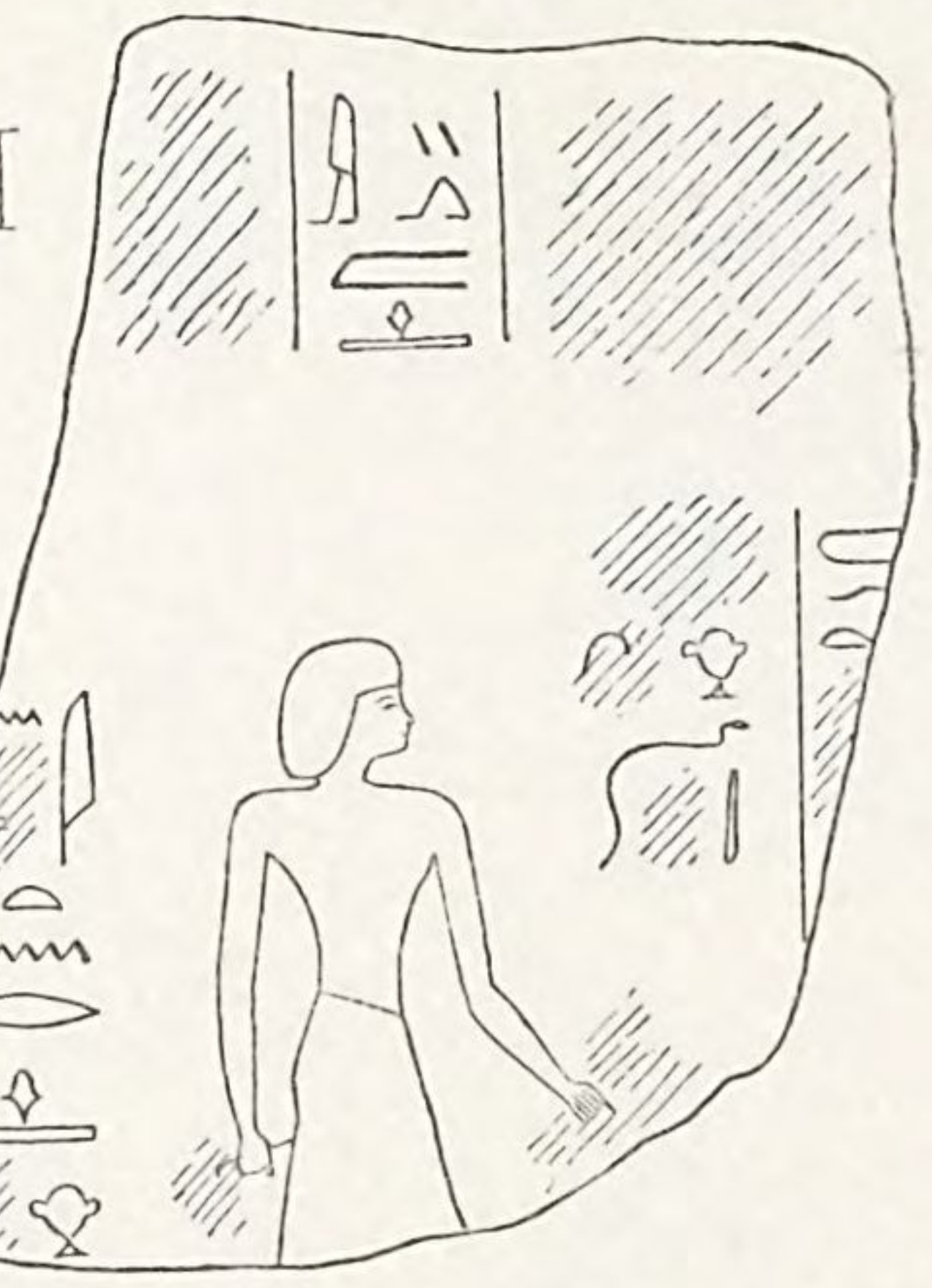

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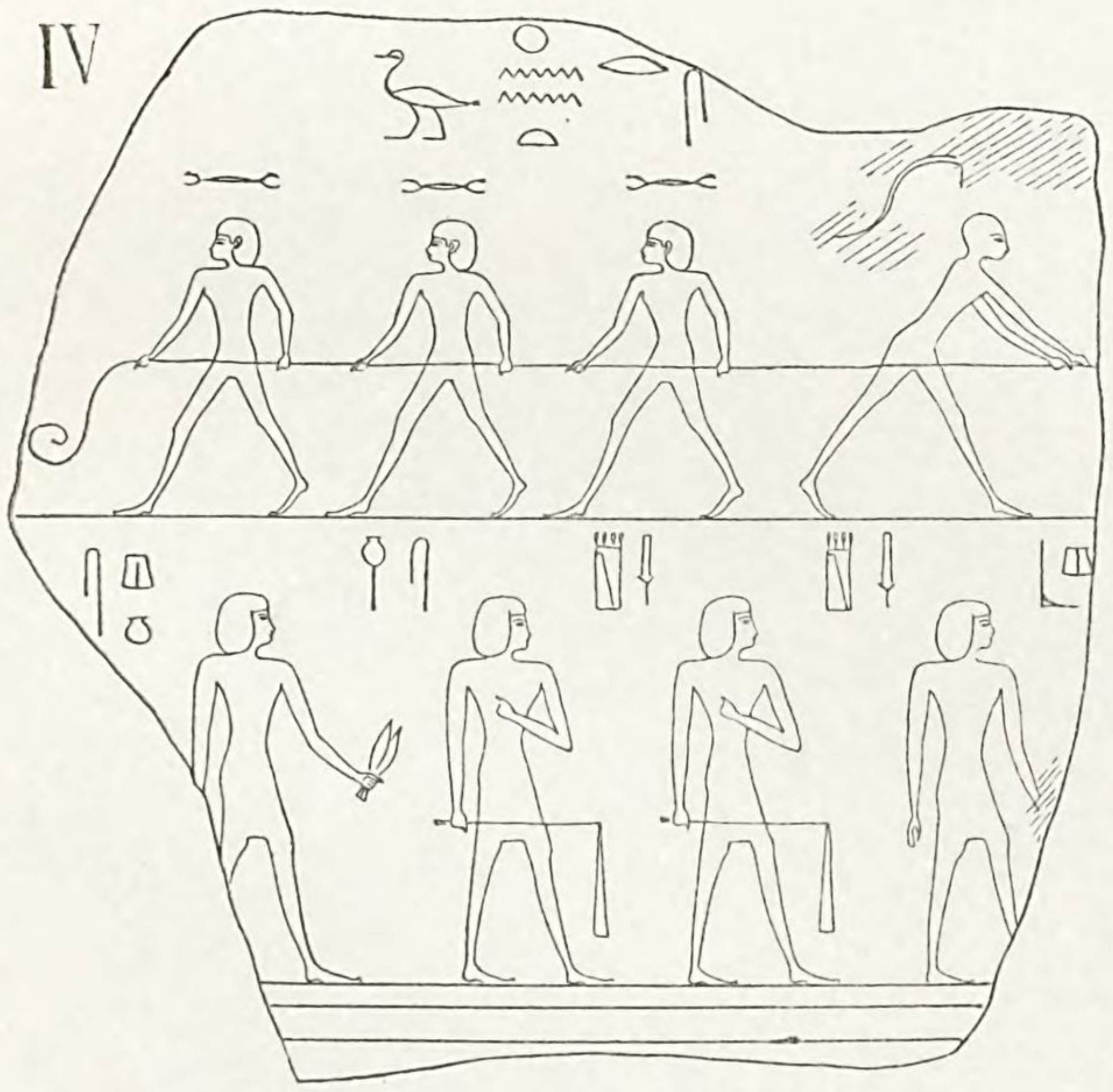

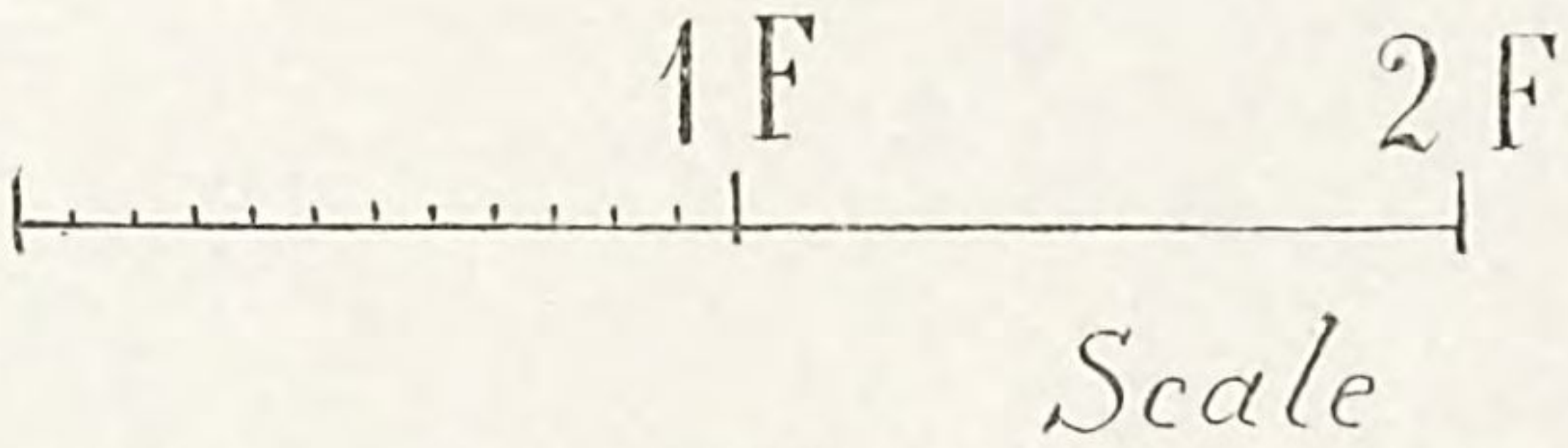

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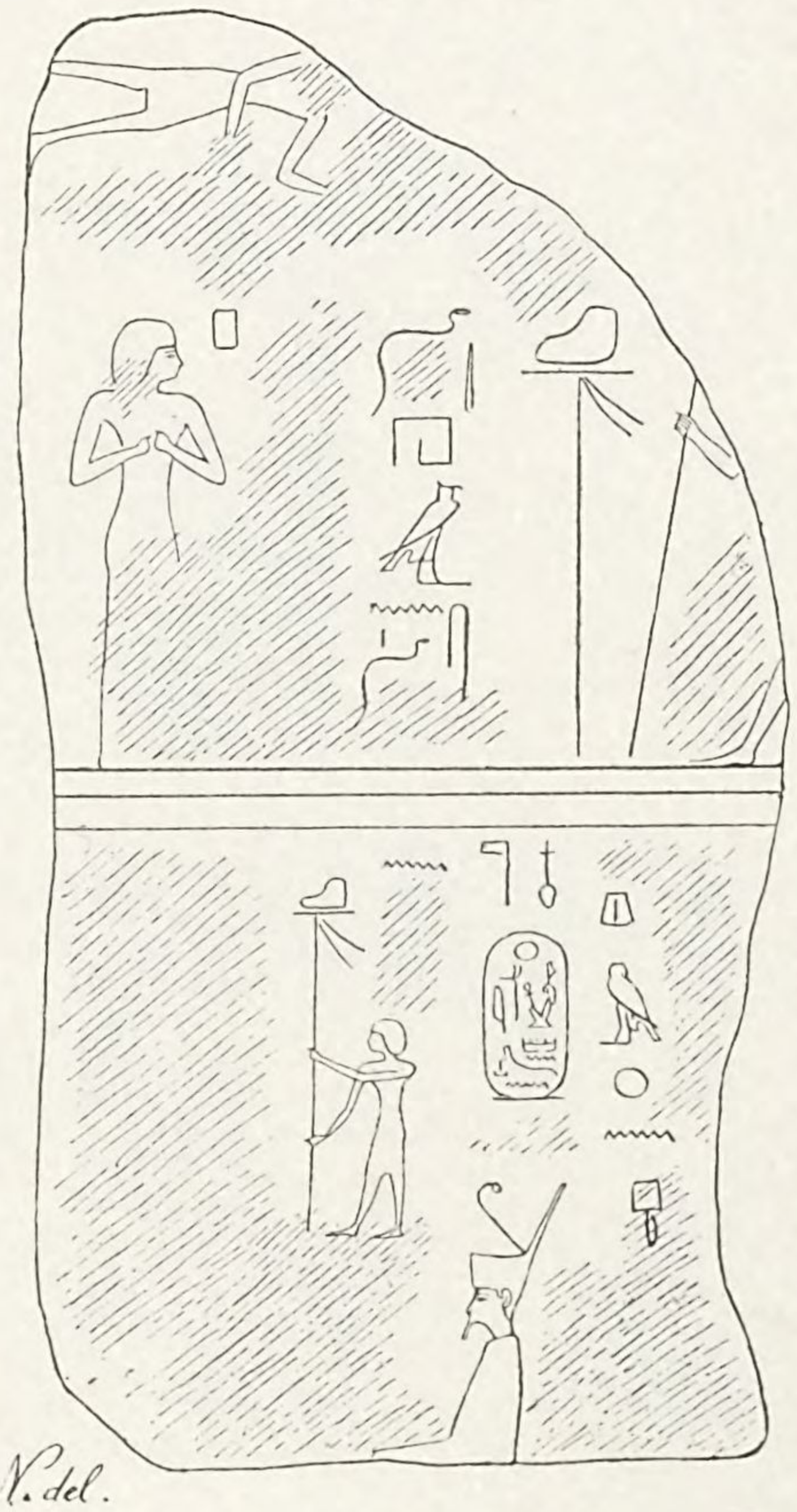

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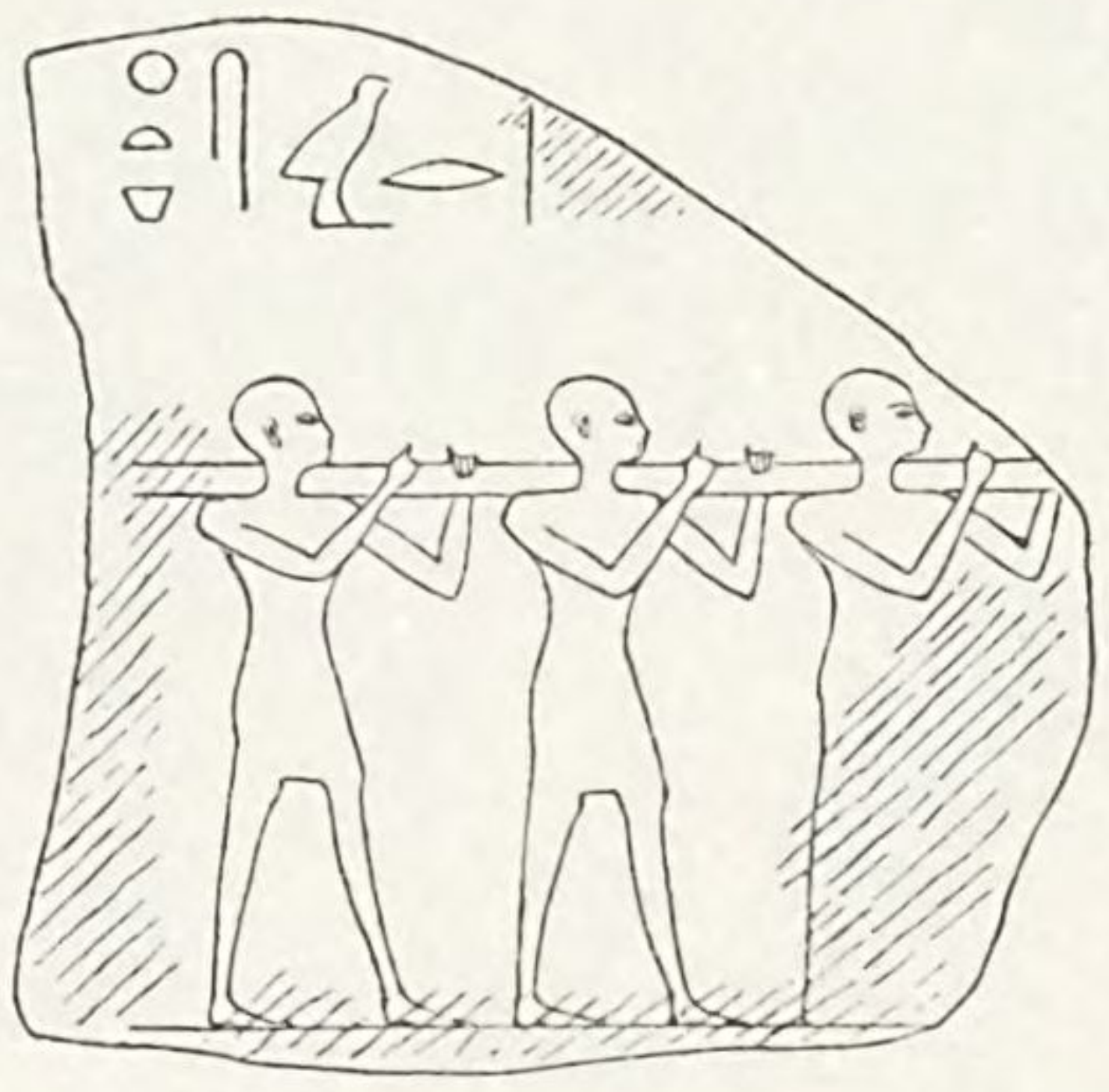

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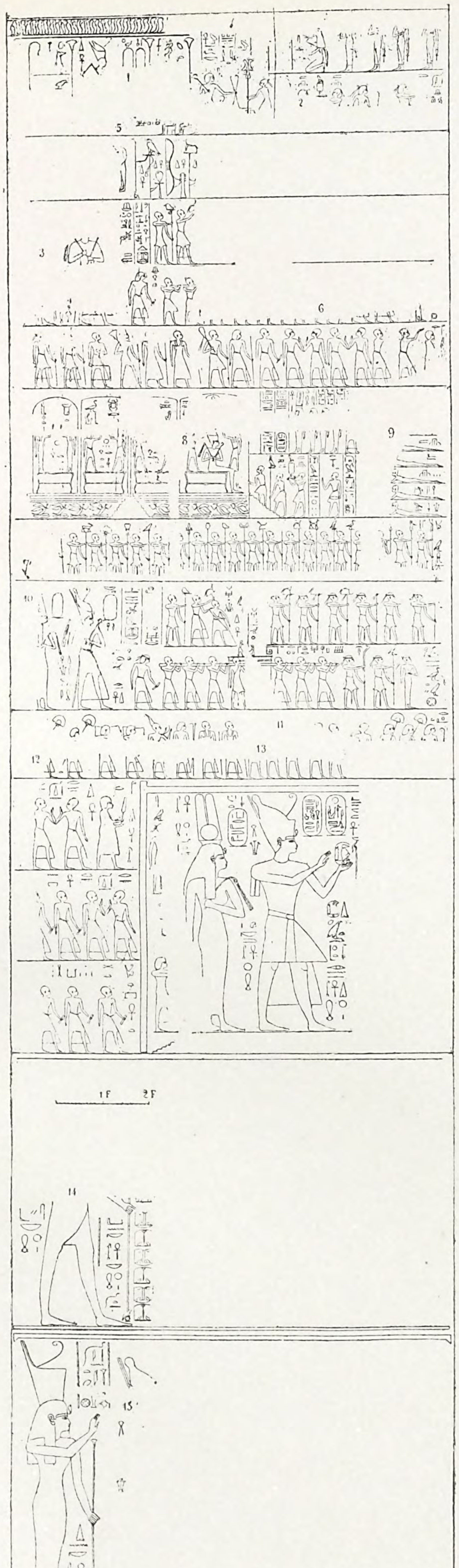
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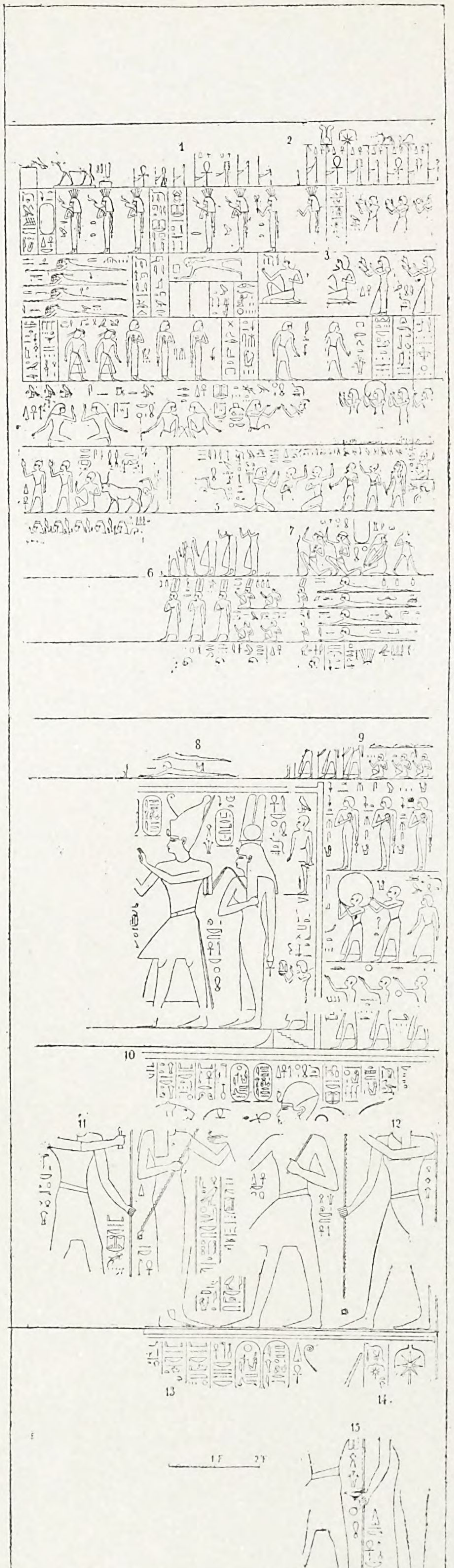
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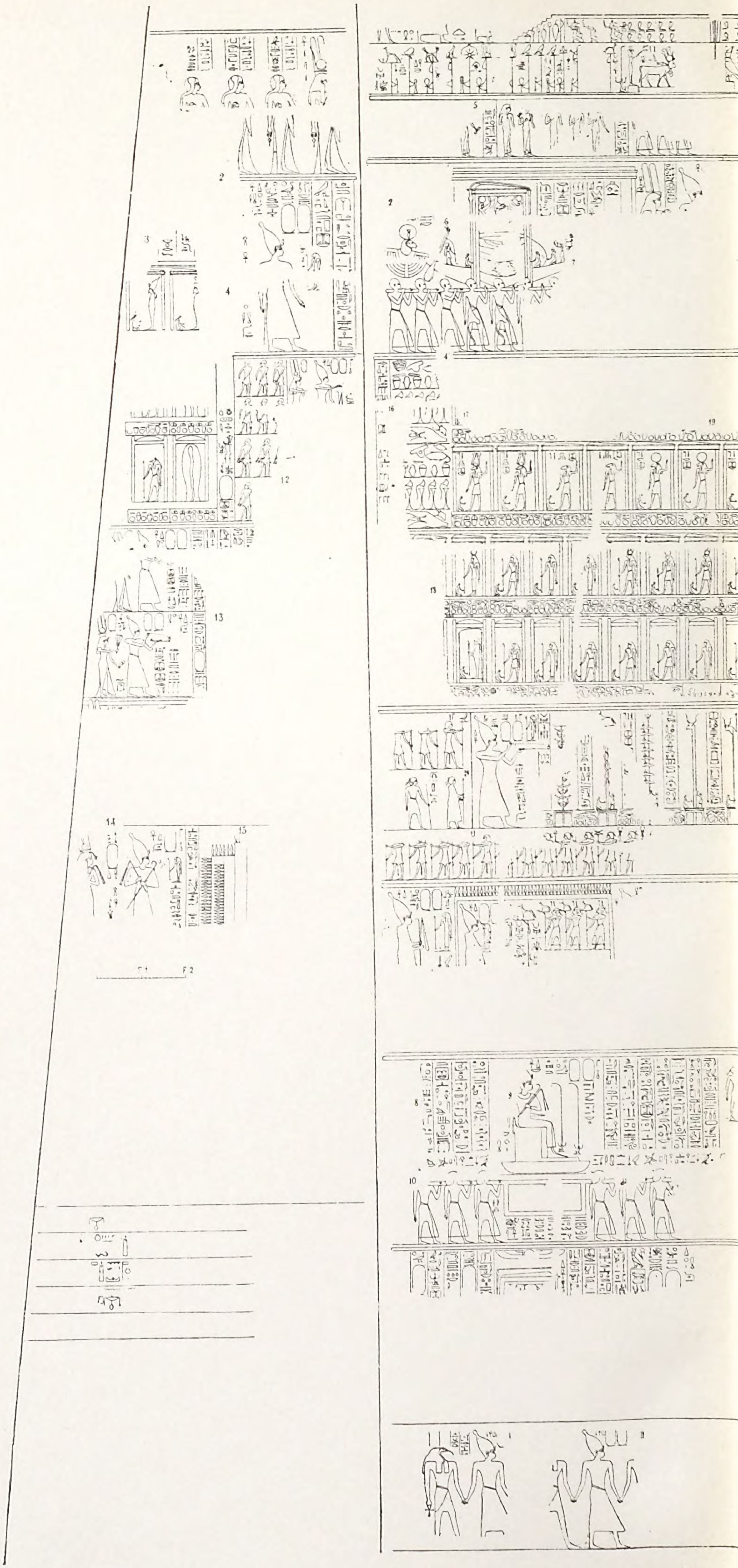
D

Outer Face

(East)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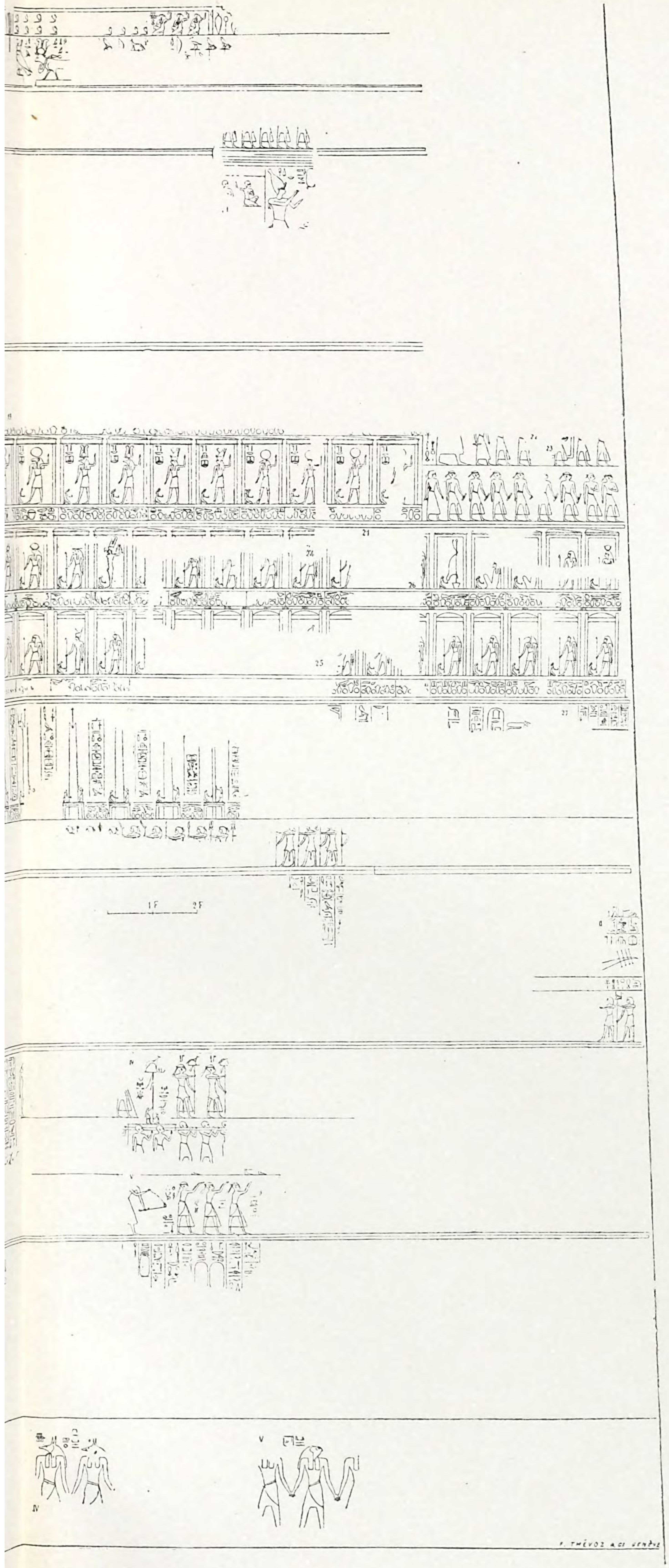
B

South Side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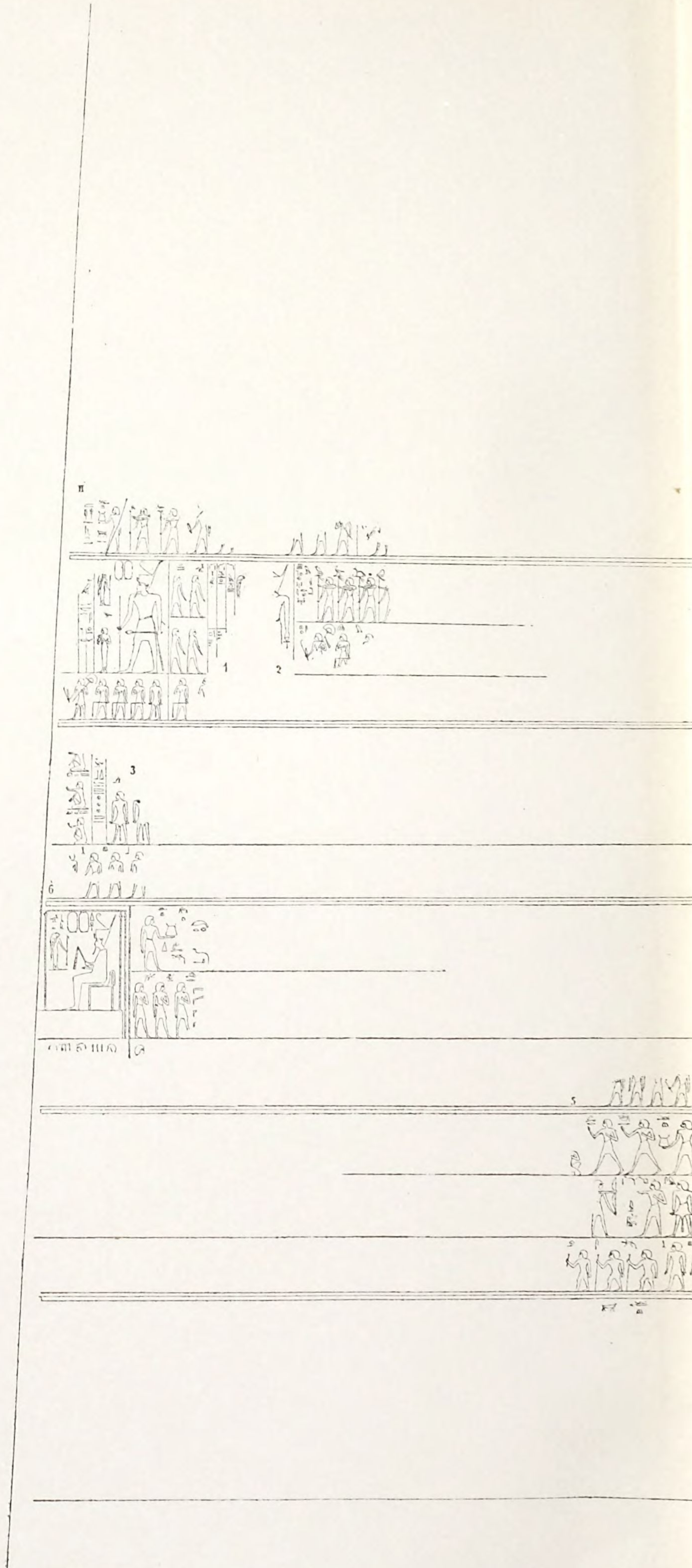
IV
V

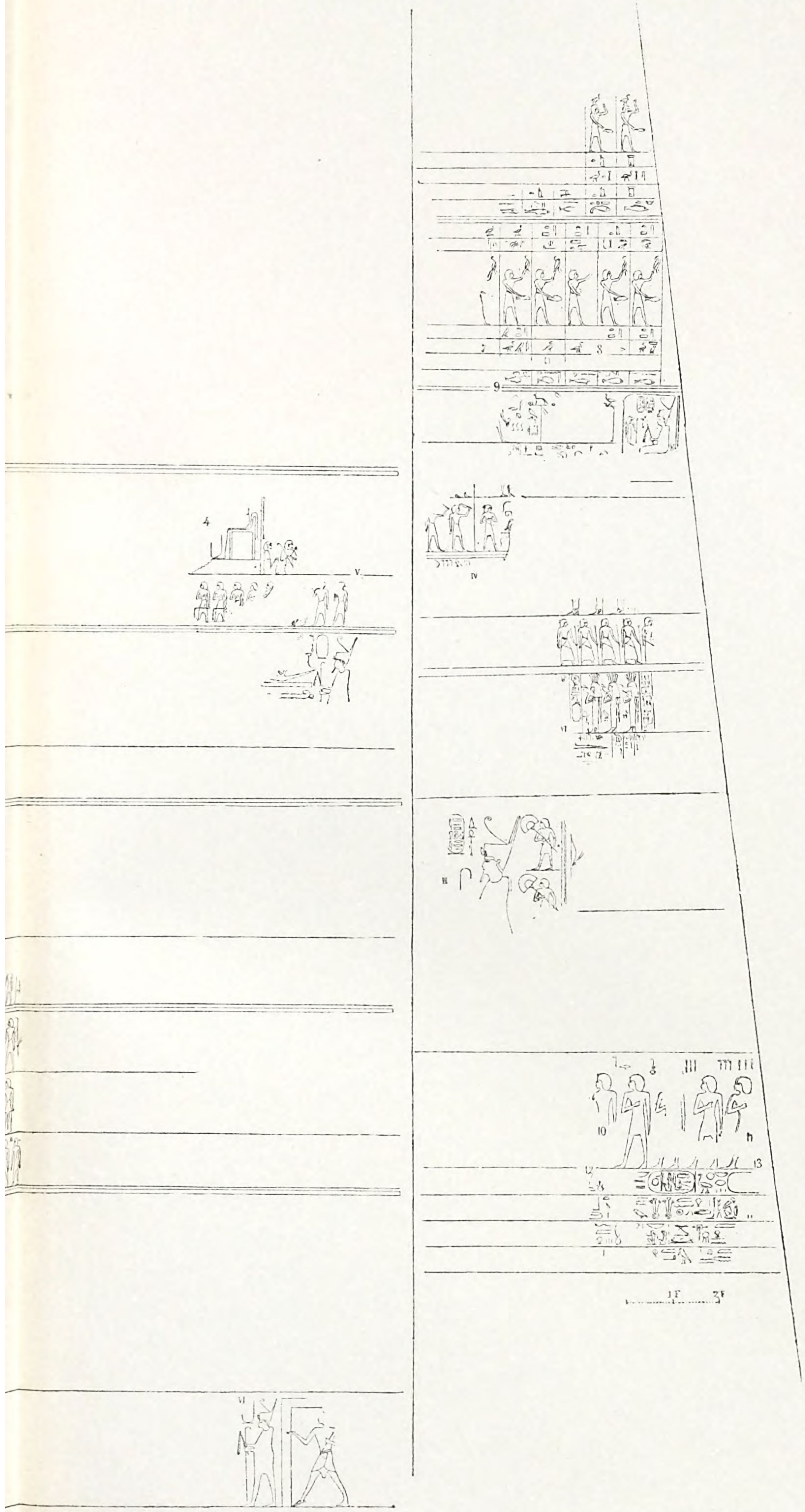
F. THÉVOZ & CIE GENÈVE

de-Wall



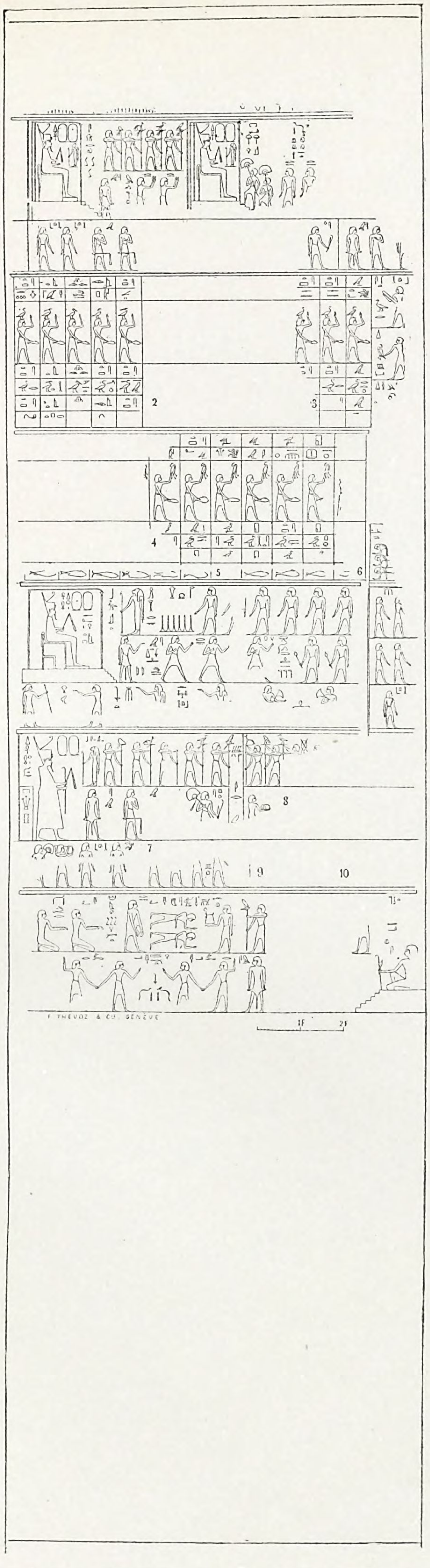
J. THÉVOZ & Co, GENÈVE, PHOT. & SCULP.

Nort



C

h Side-Wall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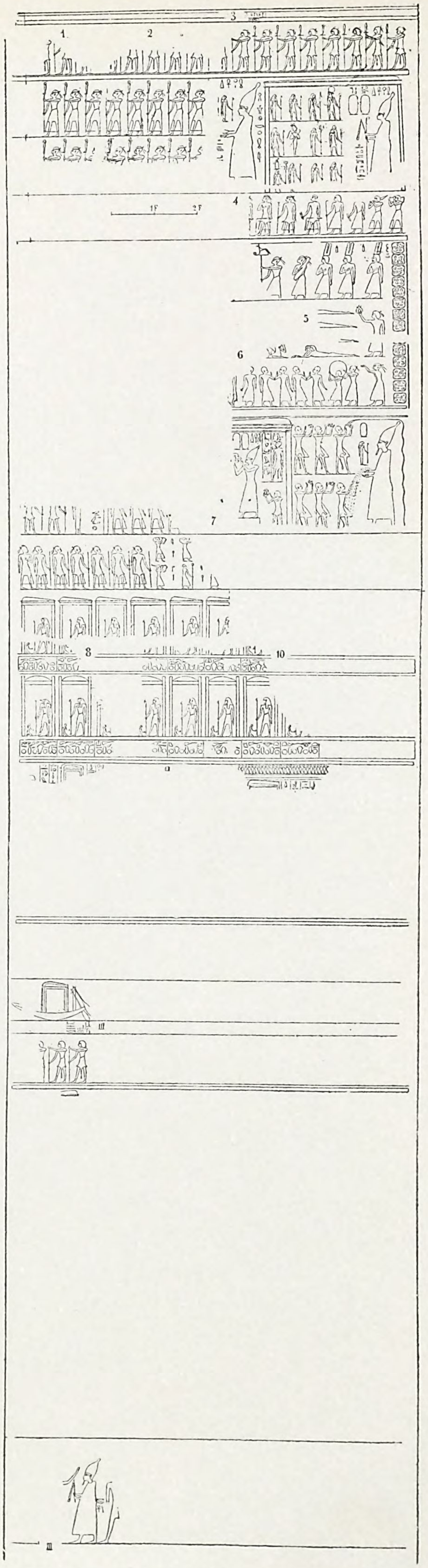
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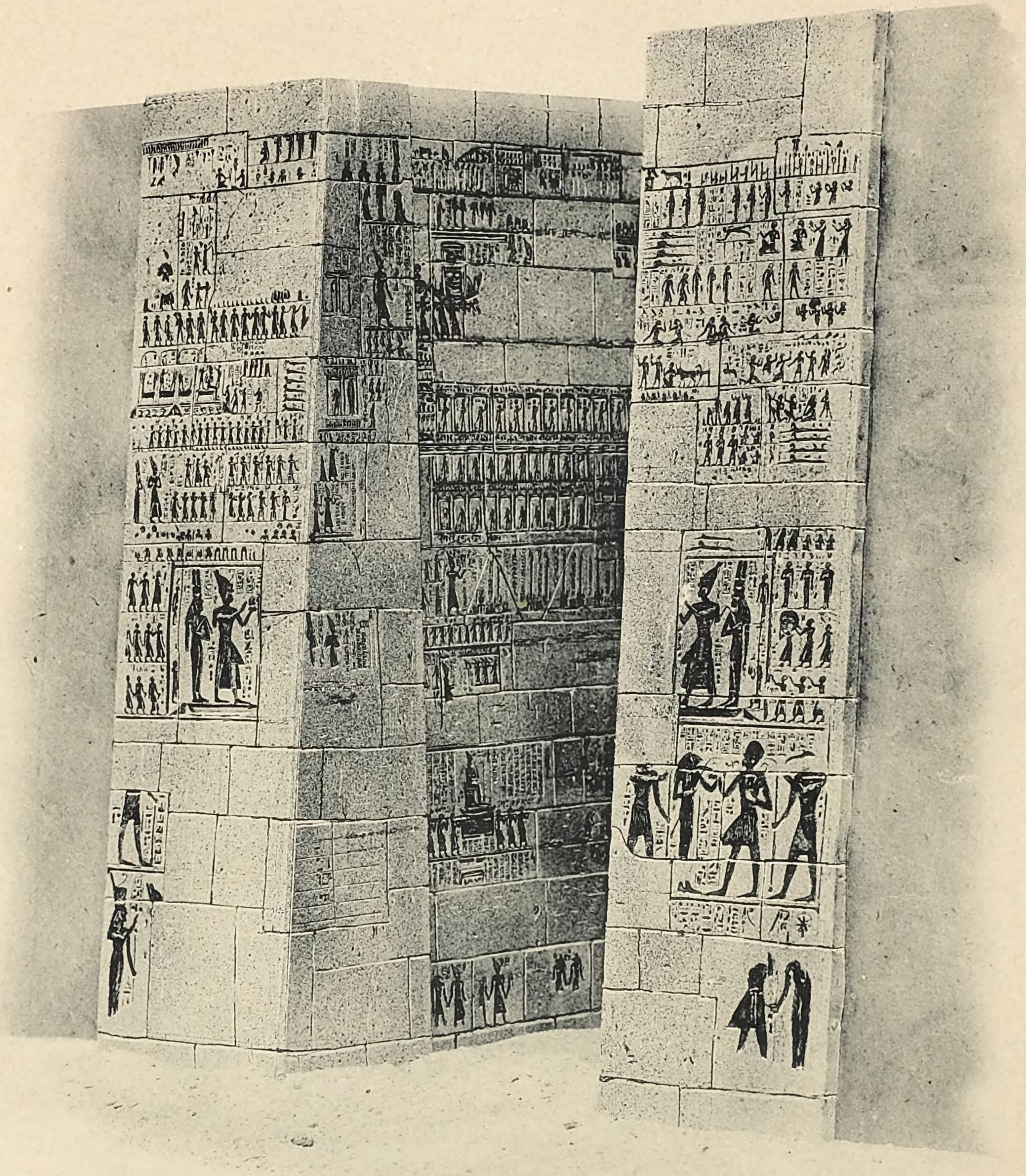
C

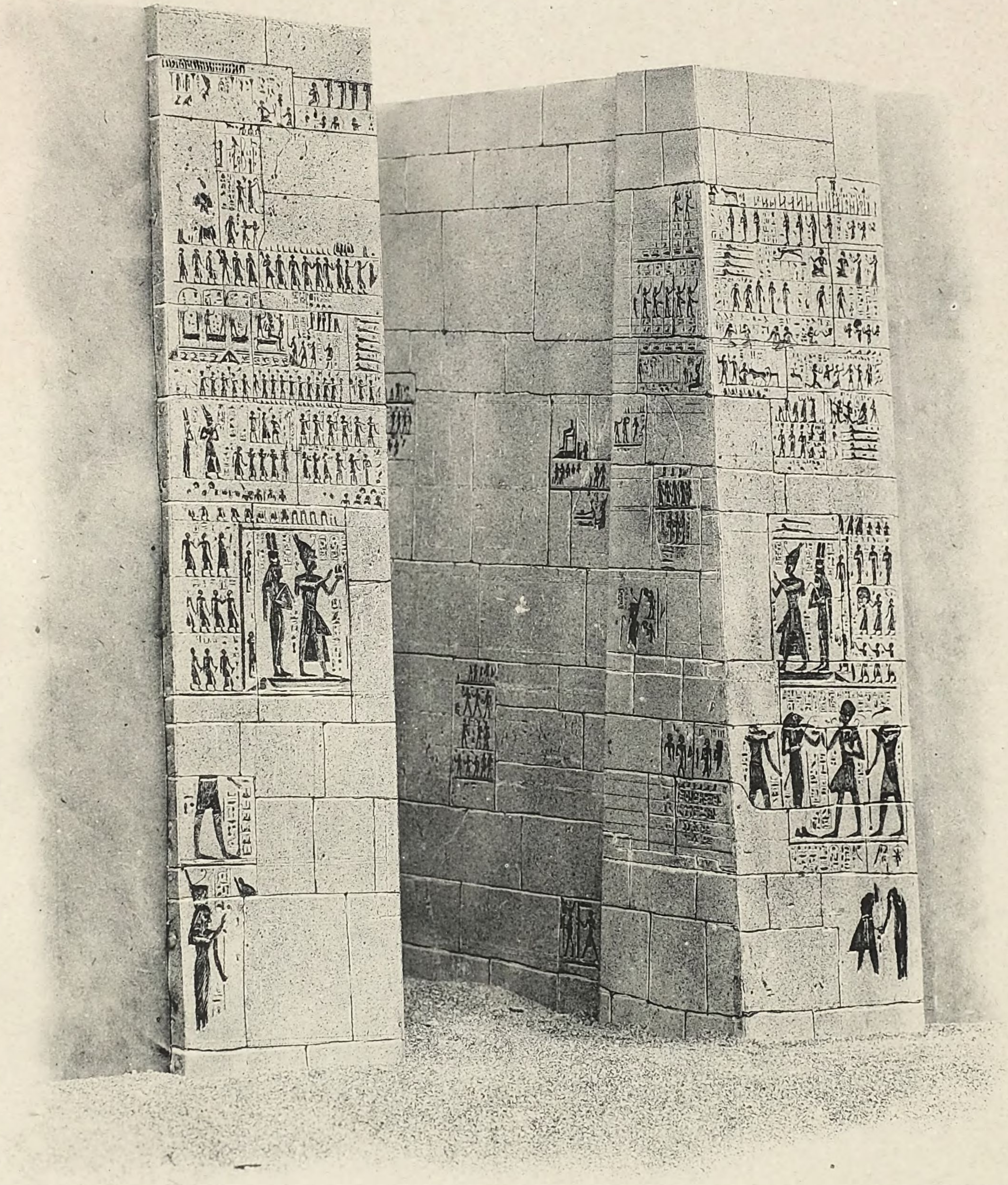
Inner Face

(West)



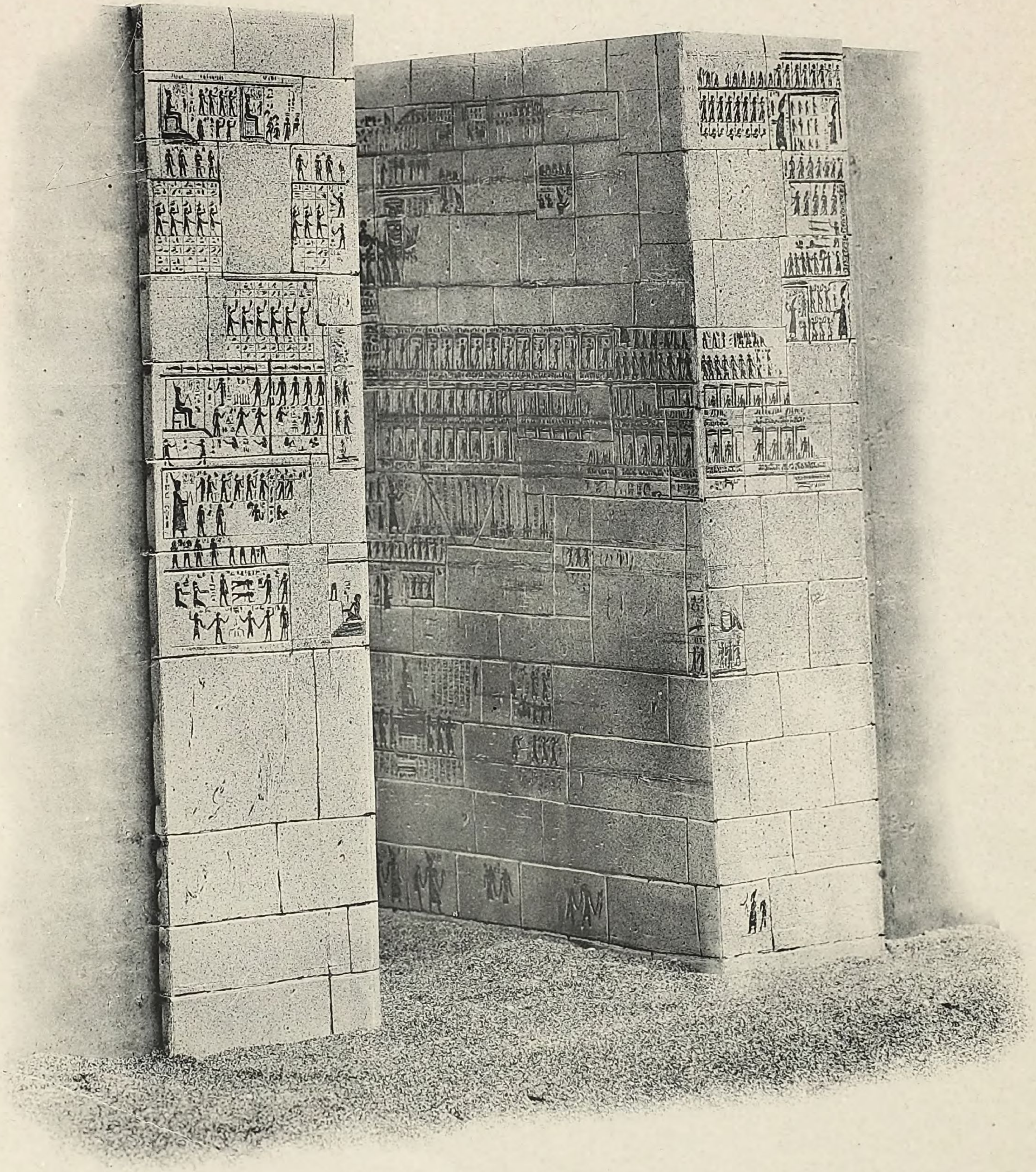
Outer Face

(Showing the South side-wall.)



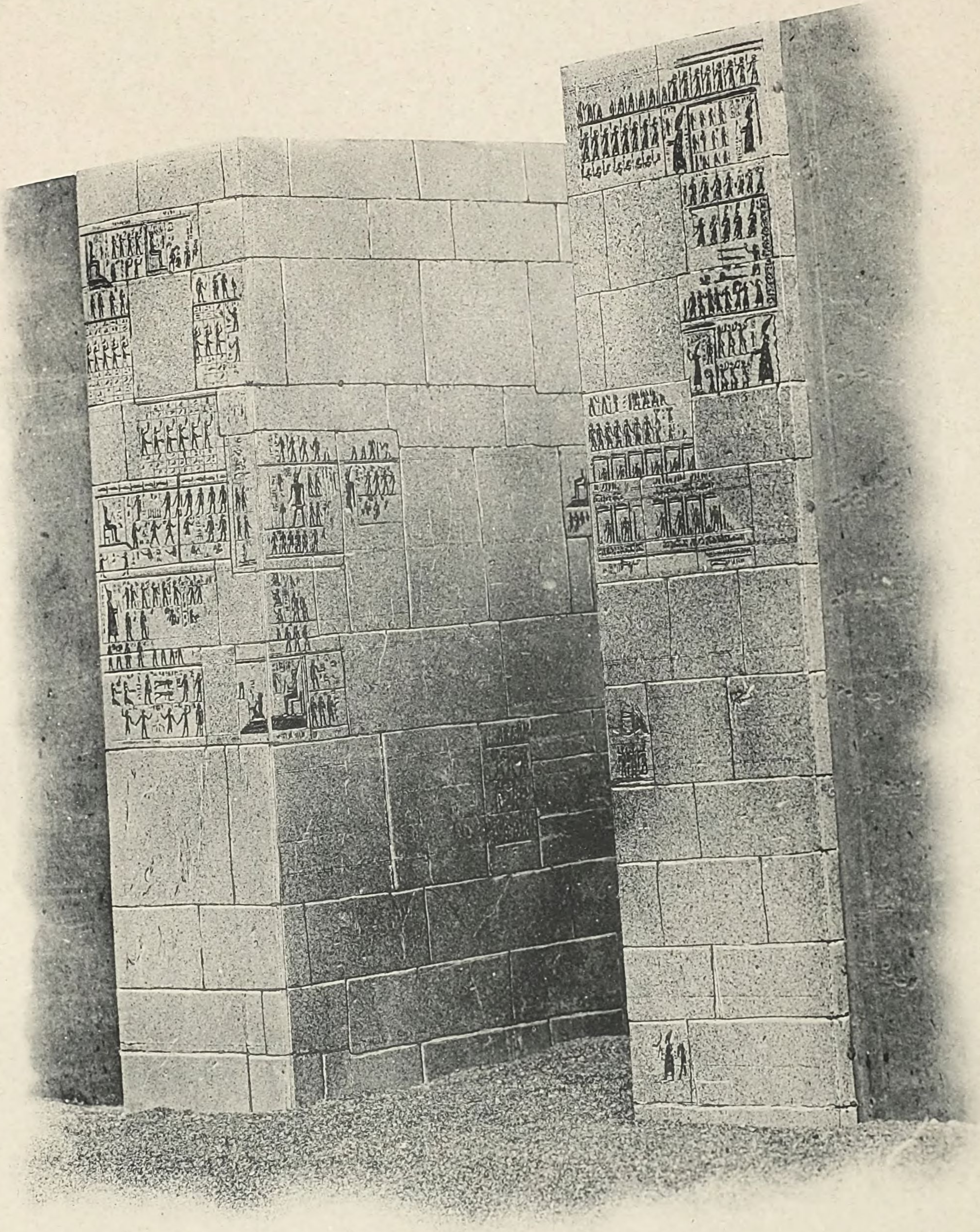
Outer Face

(Showing the North side-wall.)



Inner Face

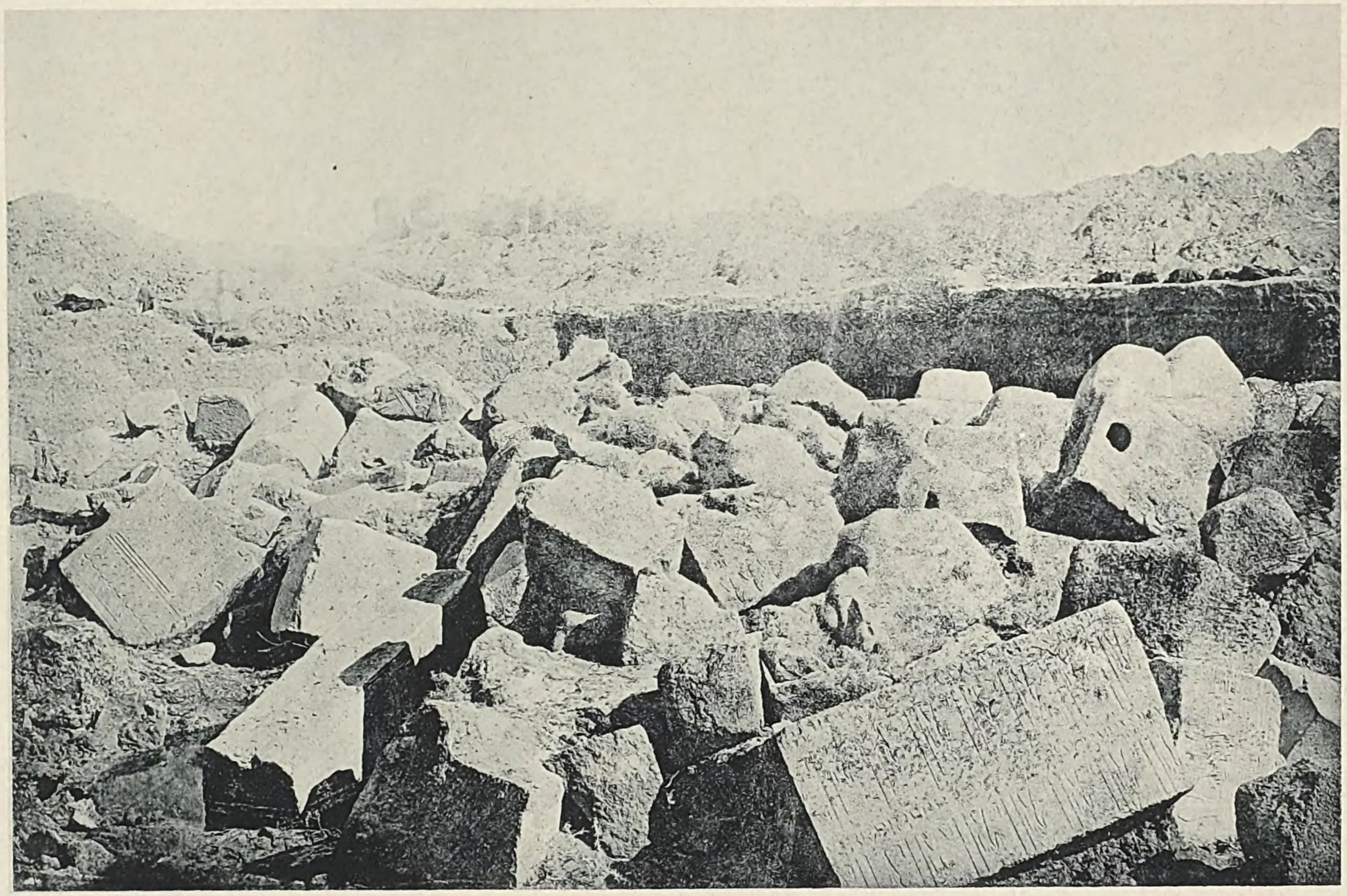
(Showing the South side-wall.)



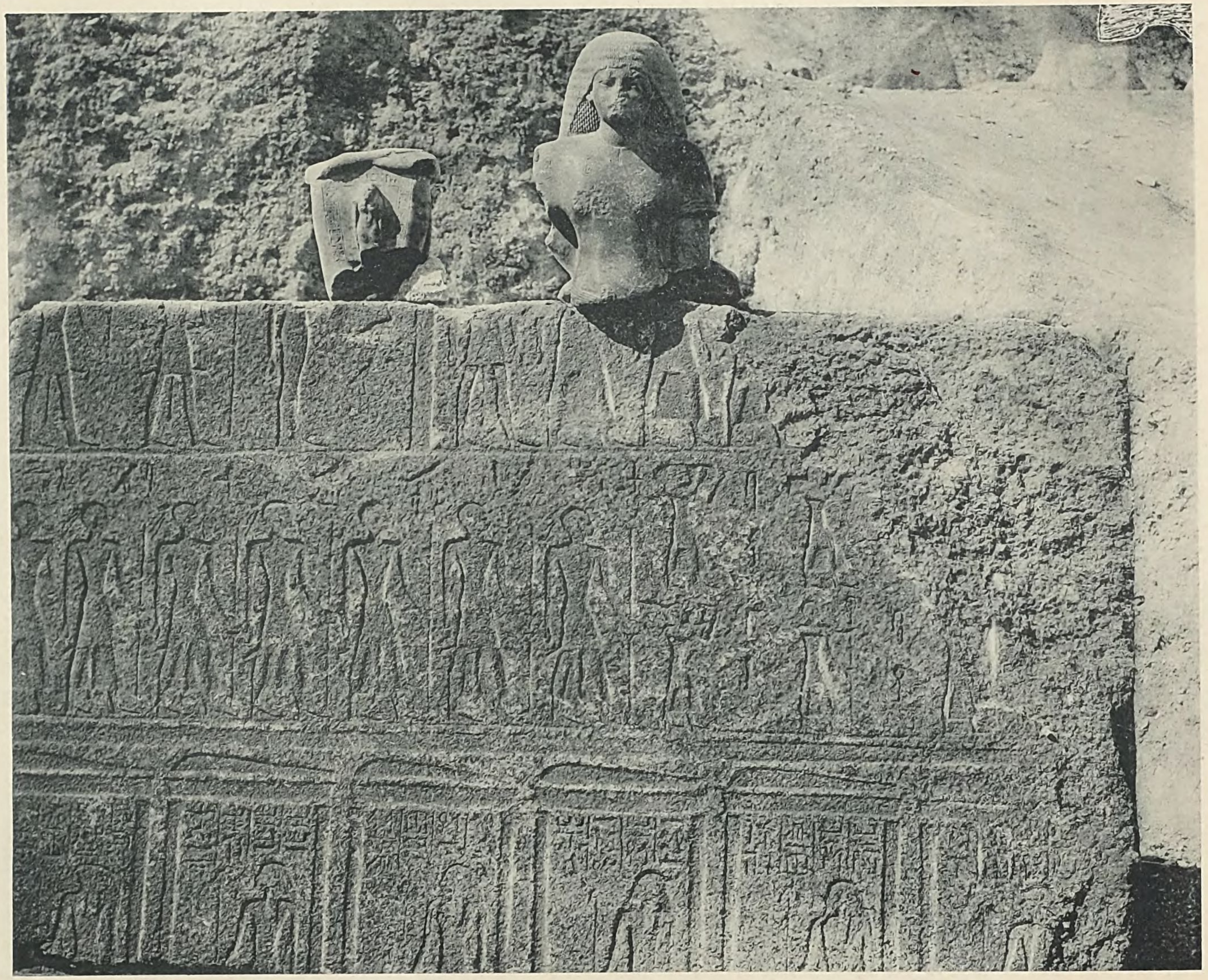
Inner Face

(Showing the North side-wall.)

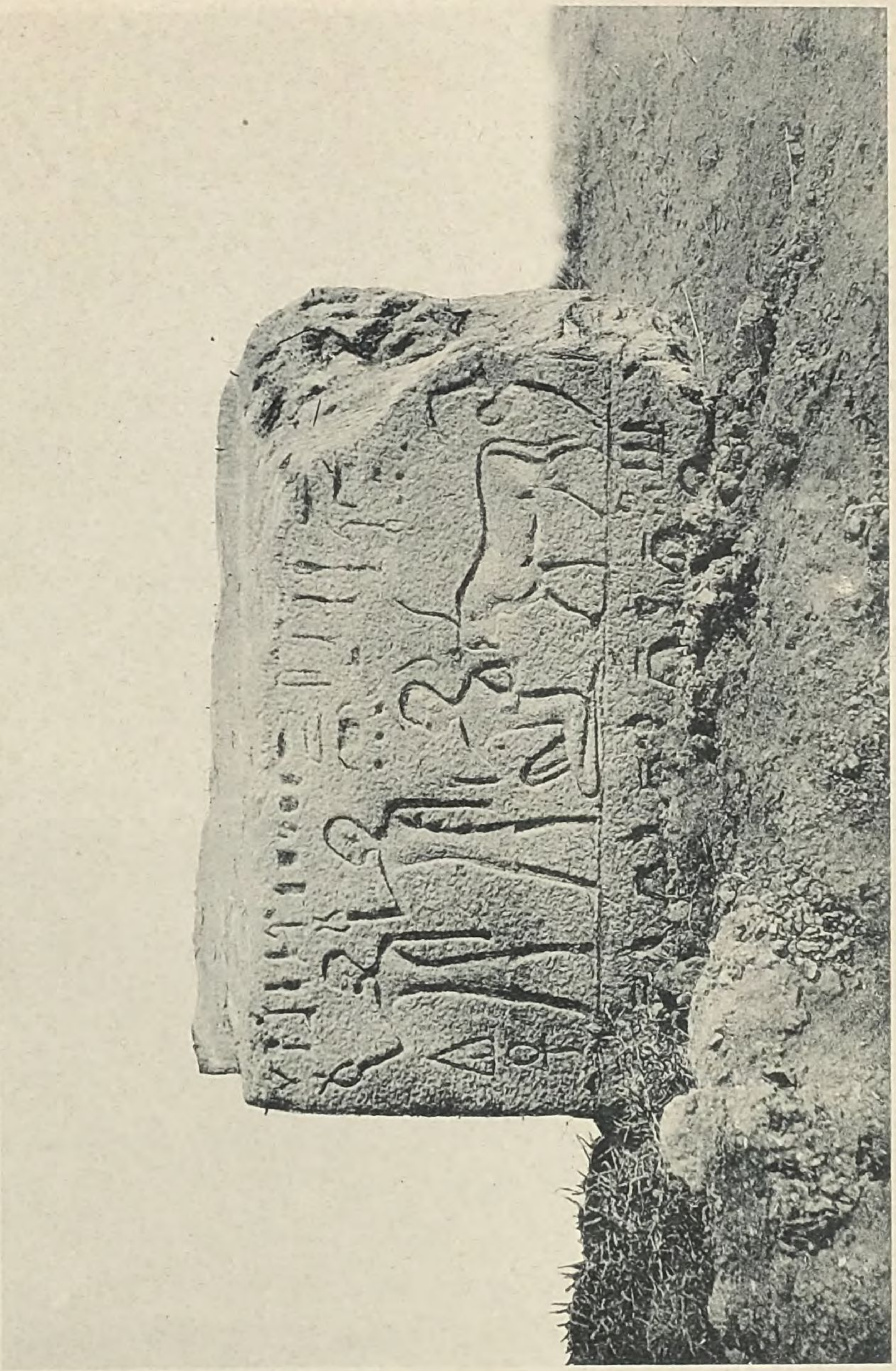
Pl. XXXVI.



Pl. XXXVII.



Pl. XXXVIII.



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